

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1882.

The Week.

THE very remarkable audacity and coolness with which the Republican managers are going to work to collect assessments from the Government officers, in the teeth of the repeated declarations of the party platforms as to the officeholder's true position, and of unmistakable public reprobation of the practice, show that they count on impunity for the present at all events. They are evidently very confident that they have for the moment nothing to fear from Congress in the way of further prohibitory legislation, and they are willing, for the sake of the money, to risk being rebuked at the polls. This suggests the idea of some sort of compromise, at least for the present until the public has more fully made up its mind, between the promoters of this abuse, as we consider it, and the civil-service reformers. The theory of the spoilsmen, as we understand it, is, that the places in the public service belong in absolute possession to the party in power, to be used primarily for the benefit of the party, but with an obligation, in the nature of a lien, to use them also for the discharge of the public business, as efficiently as is consistent with proper attention to the party interests. It is this theory which justifies the demand that the officeholder shall pay back a portion of his salary toward helping to keep the party in power. He pays it as the rent, so to speak, of his office. It is at once an acknowledgment that the party owns the office, and that the officer's tenure of it depends on his serving the party. The amount proposed to be levied this year is two per cent., which, supposing it to reach all salaries, would bring about \$400,000 into the party treasury. But, if the officeholders can afford to pay this, and are willing to pay it sooner than surrender their places, it shows that they are overpaid, and that the civil-service appropriation might be, and therefore ought to be, reduced by that amount. Every dollar paid by the Government more than it need pay to have its work properly done is a fraud on the taxpayer. Therefore, if it appears that an officer, whose salary is \$1,000, can afford to give \$20 to the Republican Committee for the privilege of keeping his place, his proper salary is \$980, and so on all through the service.

This is the reformer's view of the matter. If, on the other hand, the party in power is entitled, as a matter of right, on "the American plan," to take two per cent. of the officeholder's salary, and the officeholder is bound to pay it as part of the legitimate cost of carrying on party government, why not do away with the whole machinery of assessment, and indeed with the very name of assessment? Why should the party Committee have to go every year through the cumbrous and expensive process of issuing circulars to the clerks, and sending agents through the public offices to collect the money? Nothing can be more destructive to discipline than

the existing mode of collecting the assessments has become. It teaches the employee to feel that he has other and more powerful superiors than his official superior, and that he can make himself secure in his place, not by diligence and fidelity, but by the payment of a round sum annually to a political committee. What we propose is, therefore, that the right of the party in power to procure its campaign expenses from the United States Treasury should be recognized in legislation as "the American plan," openly and frankly, and that assessments on officeholders, by means of solicitation of any kind, should be absolutely prohibited, and that the Appropriation Bill should every year contain a sum equal to two or three per cent. on the total amount paid in salaries, which should be payable on proper Treasury warrants to the Campaign Committee, in each State, of the party in power at Washington. This would reconcile theory and practice, and put the whole matter on an open and manly basis. It would deliver the public officers from a potent cause of dishonesty and inefficiency, and distribute the tax now levied on one small class of the community over the whole community. The cost of "the American plan" ought to be paid equally by all Americans. Congress should, therefore, now vote \$400,000 for the Republican campaign expenses this fall, and reduce the salaries of all officeholders by two per cent., and treat the levying of any money on officeholders hereafter for political purposes, by any person whatsoever, as extortion by threats and intimidation.

Secretary Chandler, at a complimentary dinner in Boston, expressed himself freely about the necessity of building some new vessels for the Navy; only a few, if there was no hope for many. There is no doubt that such an addition to our Navy is desirable, and yet the voices urging that money be appropriated for that purpose just now are very few. If Mr. Chandler wants to know the reason, let him look into the newspapers. As one of our morning contemporaries expresses it, "Congress is wise not to want to build a navy at present in view of the existing organization of those committees of the House which in a great measure would control the expenditures." This is a very edifying state of things. The people want an effective addition to the Navy, but they do not want Congress to make any appropriations for it as long as any committee in which Mr. Robeson has a potential voice will have a hand in controlling the spending of the money. This fact—for an undeniable fact it is—everybody appreciates except perhaps Mr. Robeson himself.

At last the Tariff Commission is completed. It consists of John L. Hayes, of Massachusetts; Henry W. Oliver, jr., of Pennsylvania; Austin M. Garland, of Illinois; Jacob Ambler, of Ohio; Robert P. Porter, of the District of Columbia; John W. H. Underwood, of Georgia; Duncan F. Kenner, of Louisiana; Alexander R. Boteler, of West Virginia; and William H. McMahon, of New

York. There are among these gentlemen several who represent different protected industries, such as woollens, iron, sugar, etc. But there is not one among them who is known to have made the subject of tariff legislation in the larger sense a special study, and whose opinion will be accepted by the country as worth more than that of an advocate of some special interest—unless it be Mr. McMahon, who has been for some years a clerk in the New York Custom-house, and is thought to be familiar with the working of the tariff in a commercial point of view. The *Evening Post* prints a communication from a prominent merchant, expressing the liveliest gratitude for Mr. McMahon's appointment. The compliments paid to Mr. McMahon are undoubtedly deserved. But it is a significant circumstance that the appointment of a Custom-house clerk on a Commission of such importance should be looked upon as the one redeeming feature. It must be said for President Arthur that he offered places on the Commission to several business men of the highest respectability, who declined. Whatever reasons they may have given for doing so, the true one in most cases was undoubtedly that they disliked to be identified with so conspicuous an enterprise, evidently doomed to failure.

One of the most grotesque appointments made by this Administration is that of Mr. George E. Spencer, of Alabama, as one of the Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad. Mr. Spencer was elected a Senator from Alabama in the good old carpet-bag times, and it may be said that he represented the most obnoxious type of that sort of statesmanship which then flourished in the South, and that there was no redeeming feature about him. Since he left the Senate he has been long struggling to get "recognition" again, but vainly until now. The place to which he has been appointed is indeed not a very important one. The Government Directors of the Union Pacific Railroad have never succeeded in exercising any influence upon the management of that enterprise, nor in learning more about its affairs than the real managers thought it harmless to let them know. And then every summer they make a pleasant "inspection" trip over the road in a nice palace car, well equipped with the good things of this world, and finally they draw up a report the principal feature of which is that the Union Pacific Railroad is one of the grandest enterprises in history, an inestimable benefit to mankind, and, "we are happy to say," in excellent condition. These duties, it is true, Mr. Spencer may perform as well as anybody else, although we should think his presence on the Commission would not be pleasant to his colleagues. But if the "recognition" of such a politician as Mr. Spencer by the National Administration is intended to give him a new lift in the Republican party of Alabama, it will prove a disastrous investment. If Mr. Spencer ever becomes a Republican leader in Alabama again, that fact, by reviving the worst

memories of the past, will sink the Republican party of that State below the lowest level of respectability, and render the task of recruiting it from the decent and progressive elements of the population absolutely hopeless.

The clouds lowering upon the house of Cameron in the staid old State of Pennsylvania are getting blacker and blacker all the time. The first great meeting which the Independents held at Pittsburgh, a few days ago, was presided over by one of the old Republican war-horses, and among the Vice-Presidents there were a great many prominent business men and old steadfast Republicans "of whom nobody would have thought any such thing." It was a lively surprise to the Stalwarts. And now Mr. Thomas Marshall, whom the Cameron Convention had nominated for "Congressman-at-large"—an honor which he declined—comes out with a letter denouncing the reassembling of the defunct State Convention called by Mr. Cameron's chief of staff to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Marshall's refusal, as an entirely unauthorized act, binding nobody. He declares that he will not obey the call himself, and calls upon others to do the same. And, finally, there appears to have been a curious miscalculation of forces in Mr. Cameron's selection of a candidate for Congressman-at-large. Mr. Wanamaker, the largest clothing merchant in Pennsylvania, had been pitched upon for that nomination, mainly, it was said, on account of the influence he would exercise over the newspapers as their most important advertising patron. But now we are told that this advantage would be more than offset by the hostility of all the small clothing dealers, who would work tooth and nail against him, and it would require the whole ingenuity of the Machine to figure out the chances of profit and loss. Mr. Wanamaker has, however, settled the matter by refusing to run.

The fate of the Commissioner of Agriculture as a Cabinet officer seems to have been settled by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Mr. Nimmo, upon the request of the Secretary of the Treasury, has given an opinion against the scheme. Mr. Folger has adopted this opinion as his own and forwarded it to Senator Mahone, who has charge in committee of a bill relating to the subject. It is believed that the Administration is thus shown conclusively to be opposed to giving the Commissioner a portfolio, and that Mr. Mahone, as a representative of the views of the Administration in the Senate, will act accordingly. Mr. Nimmo objects to the bill because the department "is not charged with any executive function," but "merely with the duty of furnishing information," and it would be an "incongruity" to declare, as the bill does, that this non-executive office "shall be an executive department." The possibility that the Commissioner's duties might not be of sufficient scope and importance to warrant his admission to the Cabinet, seems to have occurred to the framers of the bill. They therefore proposed to enlarge his powers and responsibilities by entrusting to him certain business relating to surveys and

education; but Mr. Nimmo was quite ready for this change of front. He objects to the further "incongruity" of requiring a department composed of "specialists with respect to the interests of agriculture" to look after "subjects entirely foreign to agriculture." The circuit is thus complete: the Commissioner should not go into the Cabinet, because his duties are not sufficiently executive; he should not be charged with other duties which might fit him for the Cabinet, because these are inconsistent with those he now performs. Whatever may be thought of Mr. Nimmo's "incongruities," is anything which he suggests more incongruous than the decision of a broad question of public policy, such as the enlargement of the Cabinet, by the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics?

The New York banks added \$3,500,000 to their surplus reserve during the week. There was a gold shipment of about \$1,000,000; but as this was an arbitrary transaction (said to have been for the account of the Italian Government), without reference to the current rates of foreign exchange, it had little or no influence on the markets. The weather during the week was for the most part very favorable for the growing crops, and these now promise to be exceptionally fine. In the southern and middle belt of country the winter wheat has already been harvested; the corn crop, about which there has been so much anxiety, has made great progress; and spring wheat in the Northwestern States was never in better condition. These facts have had great influence. In business circles the tone has changed from despondency to hopefulness, and at the Stock Exchange depression gave way to buoyancy, Mr. Vanderbilt and his friends having been conspicuous buyers of his stocks, and one of these—Lake Shore and Michigan Southern—having been bought up to 113. Less than two weeks ago this stock was sold at 98. On the last day of the week there was a downward reaction, partly caused by orders to sell from the foreign markets, which were depressed on account of the Egyptian troubles.

Michael Davitt, who has arrived here, declares, we are glad to see, that he does not attach much importance to his scheme for the nationalization of the land in Ireland, and is quite prepared to give it up for Parnell's. The object of both schemes is to get rid of the landlords, but when they are gone Parnell proposes to lodge the ownership in the farmers, while Davitt proposes to lodge it, on Henry George's plan, in the state, and have the occupiers pay their taxes in the form of rent. Whatever be the value of the Henry George scheme for the world in general, it is open to the fatal objection in the case of Ireland, that the Irish are not ready for it. The cause of the land trouble in Ireland for three hundred years has been that the tenure was not Irish but English, introduced and maintained by force of arms; a process closely resembling that which took place in India, when the English converted the old Mogul zemindars, or revenue collectors, into the landlords of their districts, and the cultivating taxpayers into their tenants. The English mind was not, until the Mill school of philosophy made its appearance, able tho-

roughly to conceive of a society in which there were no large landed proprietors, living on rent, and whenever they came into control of the soil of a country, and found none, they set them up. They did so in Ireland, by taking away the lands of the tribes, which were held in a sort of commonality with the chiefs, and giving them to English grantees in fee-simple, and converting the aborigines into tenants-at-will. Out of this state of things has arisen the agitation in favor of having Ireland governed, in the matter of land tenures, as in other matters, according to "Irish ideas," and not according to English ideas—a plan of solving the Irish trouble, as far as England was concerned, which it is but just to say was suggested nearly one hundred years ago by that great Englishman, Charles James Fox.

Now, the Irish idea about land is very simple. It is that the occupier should be, if not the legal owner of the soil, as nearly the legal owner as possible; that if he has to pay rent, it should be a low and certain rent, which nobody could raise, and that his title should be indefeasible as long as this rent was paid. This is the French idea also. It is the Celtic idea everywhere. It is probably at this moment the strongest idea in the world about land. The Germanic or English view of land, that it should be treated as a commercial commodity, and cut up and sold as easily as corn or railroad shares, is not nearly as strong. The new Henry George or Communistic idea, that the land is a great national domain, to which all have an equally good claim, is still weaker. It probably has not to-day the smallest acceptance with any agricultural population. If it have secured any foothold at all, it is among the landless. It could not be preached to the farmers of any country in the world with any chance of success. Moreover, there are no farmers to whom it could be preached with less profit than to the Irish. To them it would be simply bewildering. They have not as yet even enough political education for it. They have yet to conceive of the state as the representative of the common interest. It will be a good while before they look on the Government as anything but the head of a hated foreign police, which it is always fair, and often desirable, to vex, harass, and even cheat. So that necessity as well as safety seems at present to confine the programme of the agitators to the conveyance of the land, not to an abstraction with a big name, but to the men who live and toil on it, and love it, and who cannot now be got to conceive of anything more desirable for them than the ownership of the fee.

Mr. Keely has come out with a card in which he declares that he has reached a point in his discoveries at which he can safely communicate his secret, and is now getting ready to take out a patent for it. We fear, however, that he will find himself confronted with new difficulties in the attempt. He declares that he has discovered a great natural Force, which he sometimes refers to as an "etheric force," exercising a pressure of 25,000 pounds to the square inch. His accounts of it are not very definite; but, as far as can be made out, it is generated by simply pouring a pint of water

into a hole. The Force itself cannot be patented, any more than the attraction of gravitation or electricity, and therefore what Mr. Keely must intend to patent is the way he uses it. He could not get a patent for pouring water into a hole, because the art of doing this has been possessed by mankind from the earliest times. Probably he will undertake to patent the mechanical appliance for using the Force. This is said to be of a "vibratory" character, and for all that is known may be patentable; but that this will involve a disclosure of the nature of the Force itself seems very doubtful. The Force may after all be one of those mysterious agencies of nature which cannot be disclosed to the senses.

M. Roustan, the new French Minister, seems to be very indiscreet for a French diplomatist, if we may judge from the report of an interview with him published in the *Herald* of Friday, in which, if correctly rendered, he gives an explanation of the French quarrel with Tunis that does not put the Jules Ferry Ministry, which began it, in a very creditable light. The reason given to the world for beginning it was a desire to punish the Kroumirs for marauding on the French border, but the flimsiness of this excuse was speedily laid bare, and the real cause—a desire to oust the Italians from influence in Tunis—was openly and very cynically revealed. M. Roustan now repeats this, with some accompanying abuse of the Italians, which is about as unbecoming, under all the circumstances, as anything we have seen in print for some time. Nor is his explanation of the verdict in his libel suit against Rochefort any more appropriate. Rochefort printed very serious charges against him in connection with the origin of the Tunisian war, and when he prosecuted him criminally the jury acquitted Rochefort. We gave at the time the best possible elucidation for this very untoward result, as furnished by French journals friendly to M. Roustan. This was that under the French law of libel, although the conviction of Rochefort would have affirmed the falsehood of all the charges made against M. Roustan, the acquittal did not affirm their truth, because the jury may have based it on the belief that Rochefort in publishing them acted in good faith, believing them to be true, as thousands of better Frenchmen than he undoubtedly did. It is far better to leave the matter in this shape than say, as M. Roustan has been saying, that Rochefort was "paid by the Italians" for attacking him, and that the jury acquitted him because they were afraid of Rochefort. The verdict of a Paris jury, we assure M. Roustan, cannot be disposed of here in that way. He seems, in fact, to have caught the light, sportive style of dealing with "charges," which some of our politicians in their distress have cultivated with so much success; but he will discover before he has been long in the country, that it is not a style which the best portion of the American people fancies or approves of.

The signs of trouble in the Gladstone Cabinet increase, and are now very threatening. Its composition in the beginning was heterogene-

ous enough, and it was only agreed to in opposition to the Jingo policy of the Tories. When the Irish question came up, it was rudely shaken by dissension on the matter of coercion—to which Dilke, Chamberlain, and Fawcett only gave a silent and reluctant assent. Their hostility finally drove Forster out, and there is much reason for thinking that Harcourt and Hartington only get very slender support from them in the concoction of the new Repression Bill. This trouble might possibly have been tided over without an explosion if the Egyptian crisis had not come about, and had not at last taken such a shape as to make some action imperatively necessary. Gladstone, with the Irish question absorbing his faculties, and with his old timidity in foreign affairs deepened by age, is naturally reluctant to do anything but let things drift. Sir Charles Dilke knows so much about foreign politics that he probably sees better than any one the abyss of uncertainty which any military action in Egypt will open up, and hangs back too. The rumor now is that Chamberlain here sees his chance, and offers himself for the leadership of the rising democracy by advocating prompt and energetic measures; or, in other words, waving "the meteor flag of England," with the prospect of a dissolution and some new combination opening up to him.

The way in which the Ministry is managing the two Irish bills now before the House of Commons furnishes the Irish Home Rulers with a striking illustration in support of their claims. In order to get the Repression Bill through the House and prevent too much obstruction at the hands of the Irish members, it has put the Arrears Bill behind it, so that the early passage of the latter shall depend on the early passage of the former. Gladstone does this because the Repression Bill is demanded by English opinion, which cares little about the Arrears Bill. But if he were an Irish Minister simply, he would undoubtedly, however much determined to repress crime, put the Arrears Bill first, because there is no good reason for believing that it will make any difference whether the Repression Bill is passed now or a few weeks hence. Its effect, if it ever has any effect, must come slowly. On the other hand, every day's delay in the Arrears Bill is producing consequences of the most terrible kind. It is intended to prevent the eviction of farmers who are unable to pay their rent, owing to the three bad harvests, and to bring them within the operation of the Land Act, the benefits of which they lose by eviction. But the evictions are now going on on a great scale. They have reached, Mr. Trevelyan says, 1,000 a week, and the landlords have the strongest motive for pushing them, because the future letting of every farm they now get into their hands will be free from most of the restrictions imposed on them by the Land Act. Consequently, in order to secure the passage of a measure of doubtful value, demanded by English pride, for the punishment of crime, the Government is inflicting, or allowing to be inflicted, a penalty of the most frightful kind, on persons who are not accused of any crime, and whom the Ministry has acknowledged, in the most

solemn and formal way, to be the victims of a great wrong. No Ministry which was dependent on the public opinion of the country for which it was legislating, as every Ministry ought to be, would attempt such a proceeding.

Mr. Gladstone has once more put his strength to the test, by a vote on Tuesday in the House of Commons, on a motion giving the Arrears Bill precedence over all other business except the Repression Bill, and putting it into the Committee of the Whole, which was carried by 258 to 97. What makes this important is that it is on the Arrears Bill that the opposition to the Ministry is now concentrated, inasmuch as it is considered the crown and consummation of Mr. Gladstone's errors in the treatment of the Irish question. If the majority in the House can stand this, they can stand anything, and they certainly appear to stick to him with wonderful fidelity. The meeting of the Conference is also likely to help him. He must have struck terror into the Tory ranks, however, by his announcement of an autumn session to take up the proposed changes in procedure. Most of the sporting politicians are in their ranks, and this proposal to take them away from the grouse-shooting and deer-stalking must deepen the hatred with which already they regard him.

The absolute indifference to the French and English fleets of Arabi Bey and his men is one of the very comic incidents of the Egyptian crisis which has attracted less attention than it deserved. The fleets were in the earlier period of the troubles kept hanging over his head as a bogey. "Arabi," the French and English Control would say to him every now and then, "if you don't behave, the fleets will come—iron-clads, you know, throwing shells as big as a saint's tomb." The Khedive warned him also that if he didn't keep quiet, he would bring the iron-clads on him. The Turks, on their part, when they heard the iron-clads were going, protested warmly. The Sultan was much agitated when the thing was first talked of, and hoped the Powers would do nothing so dreadful. At last they did it, however. They sent the iron-clads to Alexandria, and waited to see the effect on Arabi. He, however, remained calm and self-possessed. The British Consul seems to have been the first to discover the real effect of the move, for he telegraphed to the British Admiral, for God's sake to keep as quiet as possible, and not try to protect anybody or anything, and above all not to land marines or sailors. In fact, it was recognized in two or three days that the arrival of the fleets had put every Christian's life in danger. Every Englishman and Frenchman began to tremble when he heard that his country's navy was at anchor in the Alexandrian Roads. Arabi, now, apparently likes to have plenty of iron-clads in the Roads. It makes his troops bellicose and patriotic, and he is said to be ready to meet the combined navies at any point in the interior at which they choose to attack him. In fact, it is plain that the fleets, unless reinforced by the Bedouin cavalry, cannot hurt him in the least.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, June 14, to THURSDAY, June 20, 1882, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

On Friday the President nominated Alexander R. Boteler, of West Virginia, and William H. McMahon, of New York, to fill the vacancies in the list of nominations for the Tariff Commission. Mr. Boteler is a farmer and in favor of a moderate protective tariff. Mr. McMahon is in charge of the division of duties in the New York Custom-house, and it is "hoped by the President's friends that the selection will give satisfaction to the New York merchants." The Senate confirmed on Tuesday, by 31 to 21, the President's nominations.

On Friday the President also sent to the Senate the full list of nominations for the Utah Commission. They are: Alexander Ramsay, of Minnesota; A. S. Paddock, of Nebraska; J. T. Godfrey, of Iowa; Ambrose B. Carleton, of Indiana; and James R. Pettigrew, of Arkansas.

The President has approved the sentence in the case of Lieutenant Flipper, who was tried by court-martial for conduct unbecoming an officer, and sentenced to dismissal from the service.

Mr. Trescott appeared before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on Wednesday. He testified that he knew nothing of the missing letters, and scarcely anything of Shipherd; denied that the possible intervention of the Crédit Industriel between Peru and Chili had ever become a practical question, and spoke in high terms of the estimation in which Mr. Hurlbut had been held in Chili as well as in Peru, and said he had learned absolutely nothing prejudicial to his character in Chili or Peru. In regard to the relations of the State Department with the Crédit Industriel, Mr. Trescott knew little. The Crédit Industriel, as he understood it, made an offer to Peru to this effect: "If you can reach a negotiation with Chili by which Chili will consent to receive and you to pay a war indemnity instead of ceding territory to Chili, we will furnish you with means to make that payment." After some further questioning in regard to the Crédit Industriel, an adjournment was taken till Tuesday, when Mr. Trescott, after declining to state whether he had drafted the letter of instruction of June 15 to Mr. Hurlbut, said it clearly had reference to the Crédit Industriel and its plan of paying the indemnity.

On June 14 the President sent to the Senate copies of all the correspondence not heretofore published between the State Department and Messrs. Trescott and Blaine. This correspondence adds little, except in matters of detail, to the information which the public already has in regard to Mr. Trescott's mission, but shows what an embarrassing position he was placed in on account of the premature publication of his instructions from Mr. Frelinghuysen. Mr. Trescott had an interview with Mr. Balmaceda, the Chilean Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on January 13, the purpose of which was to extend to Chili Mr. Blaine's invitation to the "Peace Congress." Mr. Trescott stated the purpose of his visit, and then asked Mr. Blaine to read the invitation. Before Mr. Blaine could begin, however, Mr. Balmaceda said: "It is useless. Your Government has withdrawn the invitation. Your instructions have been changed. Your instructions from Mr. Blaine have been published, and others are on their way to you modifying your original instructions in very important particulars." Mr. Trescott at this was taken aback and at a loss what to say, but finally remarked that he must decline to say a word more until he learned from his Government what it had done and what it meant to do. In other portions of the correspondence Mr. Trescott shows with what tenacity the people of Peru clung and still cling to the belief that the good offices of the United States would be exercised in their behalf. In a report

made since his return to Washington Mr. Trescott says that the time has come for definite action one way or the other in the matter of intervention, and that he believes that whenever the United States formally withdraws from further intervention, Peru will apply to the European Powers, and that a joint intervention of two or more is probable.

The Bonded Whiskey Bill was defeated in the Senate on Thursday by a vote of 32 to 20 to postpone it and all amendments to it indefinitely. The Senators who voted against the postponement were all, with the exception of Mr. Miller, of California, Democrats.

On Wednesday the House of Representatives passed the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill. The Pension Appropriation Bill, which was reported to the House on the same day, appropriates \$100,000,000, distributed as follows: for Army pensions, \$97,000,000; Navy pensions, \$1,800,000; surgeons' fees, \$275,000; allowances to Pension Agents, \$275,000; and contingent expenses of Pension Agents, \$10,000.

On Saturday the House of Representatives passed, by a vote of 119 to 47, the River and Harbor Bill, which appropriates over \$17,000,000. No material amendments were made to the bill. The Mississippi River Commission is to have authority to spend \$5,000,000.

On Monday the House of Representatives passed "a bill to regulate immigration," which provides that the master, owner, consignee, or agent of any vessel bringing immigrants to the United States and landing them, shall pay a tax of fifty cents for each immigrant landed. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to enter into contract with State authorities for the support and relief of such immigrants as may be in need. The authorities are also authorized to prevent the landing of convicts, lunatics, idiots, or any persons unable to take care of themselves, and such persons are to be returned to the countries from which they came.

The passage of the above-mentioned bill was opportune, since the Board of Emigration of New York, being without funds and deeply in debt, decided on Friday to close Castle Garden, the steamship companies having refused to contract with the Emigration Board to pay fifty cents a head for the landing, care, and protection of their immigrants. The steamship companies, however, finally yielded, and consented to contract on these terms.

The House on Tuesday rejected a bill for the electoral count reported by Mr. Updegraff from a select committee.

The New York Civil-Service Reform Association has sent a circular to the principal employees of the Federal Government, calling their attention to the United States statute prohibiting subscriptions toward defraying the expenses of the Congressional Republican Committee, and warning them that they are liable under the statute to fine or removal from office in case they subscribe.

The Republican State Convention of North Carolina met at Raleigh on Wednesday. The platform favors the apportionment of the internal-revenue tax on distilled spirits pro rata among the States and Territories for educational purposes; calls for a continuance of the tariff; demands the repeal of the county government system of North Carolina, and affirms the inherent right of the people to elect all the officers of the State; demands an honest count and a free ballot; and denounces the Prohibition Bill and requests members of the Legislature to vote against all similar measures. The Convention adopted the ticket of the Liberal Independent Convention of the 7th inst. This union of the Republicans with the Independents will, it is thought, make the struggle very hard for the Democrats.

The Arkansas Democratic State Convention met on Saturday and nominated C. R. Breckenridge for Congressman-at-large, and unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing Senator Garland and urging his reelection by the Le-

gisature. A resolution was also unanimously adopted declaring that while the Democracy of Kansas favor the resubmission to the people of the Constitutional Amendment forbidding the payment of alleged fraudulent bonds, they do not recognize the question as furnishing a test of any man's Democracy. The Greenback Convention, which was thinly attended, met and made its nominations on Tuesday.

A meeting of between forty and fifty prominent Germans of the State of Connecticut was held in New Haven on Monday to organize a "Progressive Union in opposition to both of the existing political parties." A constitution was adopted, expressing opposition to both political parties, and calling on Germans to vote for men, who are honest and true, without regard to their politics, who will conform to the platform of organization. The real trouble they seem to find with both parties, however, is that neither of them opposed the passage of the existing stringent license law in the Connecticut Legislature.

Laborers have continued to strike throughout the country. On Monday the freight handlers in New York and Jersey City struck, adding over 3,000 to the list of idle workmen.

The great labor parade at Pittsburgh took place on Saturday. Fully 100,000 strangers were in the city, and the streets and houses along the line of the procession were crowded. Quite 20,000 men were in line, representing numerous industries. The marked feature of the demonstration is said to have been the gentlemanly and soldier-like bearing of the men. Not a single intoxicated man was to be seen in the whole column, and at no point along the line of march was there any disturbance.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers has decided that no trouble hereafter at Cleveland, Ohio, shall be laid at its door, and accordingly all of its members will remain at home hereafter during the hours in which trouble is likely to occur.

The total value of the exports of domestic breadstuffs from the United States for the eleven months ending May 31, 1882, was \$167,653,532, as against \$244,955,413 for the corresponding period of 1881.

The Grand Jury at Washington has found two new indictments against ex-Assistant-Postmaster-General Brady for conspiracy to defraud the Government in the Star-route service.

Lieutenant Danenhower says that he does not expect to complete the report of his Arctic experiences called for by the Secretary of the Navy before the 1st of September.

A despatch was received by the New York *Herald* on Monday, from their correspondent who is with the *Rodgers*, giving an account of the finding of the bodies of De Long and his men. The despatch is dated Lena Delta, April 12, and says that Engineer Melville found the bodies on March 23, eleven in number, buried in the snow, not far from where Noros and Ninderman left the party in search of help. They had all evidently suffered greatly from exposure and hunger, the hands of several being burned as if, while dying, they had crawled into the fire. In their pockets were pieces of burnt skin and of their clothing which they had been eating. None of them had boots. Their feet were covered with rags tied on. Two boxes of records, with a medicine chest and a flag on a staff, were beside the tent. They were buried in a mausoleum of wood on the top of a hill near by, and a huge cross was set up to mark the spot. The search for Lieutenant Chipp was then continued, but, up to the date of the despatch, without result.

A tornado swept through central Iowa late Saturday night from northwest to southeast. The town of Grinnell was struck by it, and half the northern part of the town, including the college buildings, left in ruins. Over forty persons were killed and over 150 wounded. About 150 houses were destroyed, and the damage to property is estimated at \$600,000. The neighboring town of Malcolm was also

heavily visited. The path of the tornado was twenty-five miles long and about half a mile wide, extending five miles northwest of Grinnell and twenty miles southeast. Storms raged almost simultaneously in other parts of Iowa, and in Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri, inflicting great damage on property.

Mr. Michael Davitt, founder of the Irish Land League, arrived in New York on Sunday. He has come for a twelve days' lecturing tour in the States, the object of which he says is to contradict the rumors which have been bruited about that there is a split in the Land League movement, and that there is likely to be a difference between Mr. Parnell and himself, and to explain the work that is being carried on in Ireland by the Ladies' Land League.

M. Maxime Outrey, the French Minister, presented his letters of recall to the President on Friday. M. Roustan, the new Minister from France, arrived in Washington on the same day.

The seventieth anniversary of the birthday of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe was celebrated at the residence of ex-Governor William Claflin, at Newtonville, Mass., on Wednesday, the 14th, by a reception in Mrs. Stowe's honor. An address was made by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and poems read by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Mr. Whittier, and others.

Mr. Paul Tulane, of Princeton, N. J., who made a fortune in business in New Orleans, has given \$2,000,000 for the erection and endowment of a college in that city for the education of white young men in languages, literature, science, and art.

Rear-Admiral Nicholson, commanding the European station, has telegraphed to the Navy Department at Washington that all the vessels of the European squadron now in the Mediterranean have been ordered to proceed to Alexandria, to look after American interests in Egypt.

FOREIGN.

Hundreds of Europeans have been leaving Egypt during the week by the advice of the Consuls. A street quarrel in Alexandria on Wednesday, which would have resulted in another riot, was stopped by the arrival of Egyptian troops in time to suppress the disturbance. A correspondent of the *London Daily News* stated on Wednesday that not only women and children, but men with large material interests in Egypt, were begging passage and leaving their property behind. The panic increased on Thursday, and Cairo was deserted by all Europeans who could possibly leave the city. The shops were all closed, and some Europeans unable to leave were fortifying themselves in their houses. The Khedive expressed the hope that 18,000 Turks would soon be on their way to Egypt, but it is stated that some of the Powers opposed the despatch of Turkish troops, on the ground that it would provoke fresh outbreaks. After a reception which the Khedive held on Wednesday he informed the Europeans that he had divided Alexandria into districts and made an officer responsible for each, and added that 430 of the ringleaders of Sunday's riot had been arrested. The number of Europeans killed in the riot on Sunday is now estimated at over 250. Many were thrown into the sea, and their bodies have been daily washed ashore. On Saturday the despatches represented the situation as becoming more quiet, and stated that all rumors of military preparations by Turkey were premature. The Khedive, at the suggestion of the representatives of the European Powers, has asked Ragheb Pasha to form a new Ministry, and the latter consented. Arabi Pasha of course has the portfolio of War. Ragheb Pasha is not very favorably disposed toward Europeans. There is said to be little doubt, however, that Arabi Pasha is straining every nerve to keep order, as he is beginning to realize how injurious the exodus of Europeans will be to the country. A Berlin despatch says that England and France have promised that the Conference on Egyptian Affairs will meet at Constantinople on the 23d inst.

The Porte received a despatch from Dervish Pasha on Monday, reporting the state of affairs as very satisfactory, and that Arabi Pasha strictly obeys the Khedive's orders.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday Sir Charles Dilke, Under Foreign Secretary, replying to questions, denied that the Egyptian troops were disaffected, and said that Dervish Pasha was confident that he would be able to maintain order. He declined to answer further questions, as it was impossible to explain the situation until the papers on the subject were published, whereupon Sir Henry Wolff, Conservative, moved an adjournment of the House as a protest against the reticence and imbecility of the Government. In the debate that followed, Sir Henry Wolff condemned the association of England with France. Mr. Gladstone replied that he greatly lamented what had been said concerning France, that all the Powers were coöperating heartily with England, and that the Sultan was in complete harmony with the Powers. He dwelt on the necessity of using the instrumentality of Turkey, and said the British policy was the maintenance of all established rights. On Thursday Sir Charles Dilke said, in reply to questions, that it was true that Mr. Cookson, the British Consul in Alexandria, had, in September last, informed Arabi Pasha that if the Egyptian Army persisted in assuming the government of the country, it must be prepared to meet the united forces of the Sultan and Europe, as the country could not be suffered to relapse into a state of anarchy, and that the British Government had approved of this language. There is said to be great irritation in England at the apparent inaction of the Government on the Egyptian question. In the House of Commons on Monday Sir Charles Dilke stated that Germany, Austria, and Russia had accepted the proposal for a Conference, and that Italy had previously declared she would follow the course of the other Powers. Very full instructions, he said, had been sent to Admiral Seymour on Friday, which were sufficient to protect British interests in Alexandria in case of renewed disturbances.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, Mr. Trevelyan stated that of 216 suspects still in custody, 125 are suspected of personal association with crime. Mr. Childers, Secretary of State for War, replying to questions, said that hereafter the arms of soldiers employed for escort duty and protection in Ireland would be loaded.

On Friday clause 7 of the Repression Bill was adopted by a vote of 208 to 67. The Government previously accepted an amendment that magistrates should appear at meetings and summon the people to disperse, but an amendment confining the operation of the clause to the proclaimed districts was rejected. Clause 8, directing the arrest of persons found at night under suspicious circumstances, was also passed by a vote of 98 to 27. On Monday clauses 9 and 10 of the bill were adopted, the former, providing for the arrest of strangers found under suspicious circumstances, by a vote of 194 to 31, and the latter, directing the seizure of newspapers containing matter inciting to the commission of treason or any act of violence or intimidation, by a vote of 99 to 26. Mr. Gladstone moved on Tuesday that precedence be given to the Arrears of Rent Bill, whenever set down, over other business, with the exception of the Repression Bill, and that there be morning sessions on Friday. The motion prevailed by a large majority.

The news from Ireland has not been very important. Miss Anna Parnell has written to the *Dublin Freeman's Journal* that the fund for the maintenance of suspects, for which purpose £24,000 has been collected and £16,000 spent, should now be closed. Several more persons have been arrested on suspicion of being connected with the murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The Corporation of Dublin has adopted, by a vote of 34 to 12, a petition to Parliament against the Repression Bill, and on Tuesday the Lord Mayor in his

official robes presented it in the House of Commons.

Cambridge University, England, has conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws upon Prof. Josiah P. Cooke, of Harvard University.

In the Reichstag on Wednesday, after a lively debate, in which Prince Bismarck made a speech of two hours' duration, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill was rejected by a vote of 276 to 43. Among other remarks, Bismarck declared that party government in Germany was impossible. He also held up the United States as an example of the benefits of a protective tariff. In conclusion, he declared that the Federal Government would not be diverted from its adherence to protective duties by any resolution that might be adopted. In another debate, in replying to the criticisms on the largeness of the military budget, he said that Germany was only prevented from having coalitions made against her by other Powers by the fact that her military power was known. He also said that in view of the slightly developed national feeling of the Germans, the French had not abandoned the hope of getting back Alsace and Lorraine.

It is announced that Herr Bitter, Prussian Minister of Finance, has tendered his resignation on the ground of difference of opinion in regard to taxation reform.

A despatch from St. Petersburg says that a ukase has been issued dissolving the committee for an inquiry into the condition of the rural population, and its duties have been transferred to the Council of the Empire and the Senate. The revenue of Russia for the first quarter of the year shows an increase of seven million rubles over the first quarter of 1881. The correspondent of the *London Times* at St. Petersburg says that General Ignatieff's resignation was caused by his proposing to summon the States-General.

The Holy Synod has passed a resolution, which has received the sanction of the Czar, prohibiting persons not Christians from publicly trading in pictures, crosses, or vessels used in Christian worship.

A despatch from Belgrade says that it has been arranged that the entire Ministry shall retain office and carry on the programme initiated by the last electoral decree of the King, and consequently all reflections of Radicals will be declared illegal. The Progressist candidates who were second on the list, though some of them did not obtain a dozen votes, will be summoned to take the seats. It is apprehended that these events may lead to a suspension of the Constitution and internal strife, resulting in European intervention.

The Italian newspapers publish an agreement of the members of the Garibaldi family to give the island of Capra to the Italian nation.

The news from South America is that a bill will be soon introduced into the Chilean Legislature declaring the incorporation of the Peruvian departments of Tarapaca and Tacna, including the port of Arica, within the territory of Chili, and that, as soon as this bill shall have been approved, the whole of the Chilean troops will abandon the north coast of Peru, and concentrate in Lima. The Bolivians are said to be almost unanimously in favor of an immediate truce, and are working energetically to bring about this result. The *London Daily News*, commenting on Mr. Trescott's despatches to Secretary Frelinghuysen, says that none of the European Powers would refuse to try to effect a peace between Chili and Peru, if so requested by the belligerents, but that the Powers do not intend to coerce Chili at the request of Peru.

The Canadian elections, on June 20, went heavily in favor of the late Government, all the members of which were returned—the Premier, Sir John Macdonald, by two constituencies. The national protection policy has thus obtained a formal popular endorsement.

THE FOUR-YEARS-TERM SCHEME.

A BOLD attempt to extend the operation of the spoils system, and increase its efficiency as an agent of corruption, was defeated in the House on Monday, largely owing to the vigorous exposure of it made by Mr. Bayne, of Pennsylvania. It took the form of a bill introduced by Mr. Burroughs, of Michigan, in the House, to fix the terms of the Internal Revenue Collectors at four years. At present these officers hold during good behavior, or until some henchman wants an office. For the most part, however, they hold during good behavior. Many of those now in office were appointed during General Grant's first term, and are excellent officers. Indeed, the Internal-Revenue service is exceptionally well administered, and there is more or less reluctance to remove the Collectors for political reasons, owing to the outcry which it makes among the reformers, and the public generally outside of politics. This, however, does not by any means diminish the desire of "the workers" to get at the offices. In fact, in this case, as in many other cases, difficulty of gratification only inflames the desire. The spectacle of an honest man performing the duties of the same office, faithfully and efficiently, for ten or fifteen years, is to them indescribably odious. It seems so mawkish and sentimental that it makes them sick, as they say themselves. Finding, therefore, that it caused too much fuss to dismiss an officer simply to make a vacancy, they determined to try to subject Internal Revenue Collectors to the same rule as the Customs Collectors and Postmasters, limiting their appointments to four years, so that they might dismiss an officer at the end of four years without laying themselves open to the charge of dismissing him without cause. When they got rid of a good officer, they would thus be enabled to say that his term had expired, and that the law would not have fixed a term if it had not contemplated a change at the expiration of it. In fact, one of the concessions the spoilsmen have of late been making to the reformers takes the shape of an offer to remove no officer before the expiration of his term. They do remove officers frequently in the middle of their terms, but then, if you insist upon it, they are always willing to promise that they will do nothing of the kind, just to keep you in good humor.

The creation of the four-years term for the Federal accounting officers, or officers charged with the custody or disbursement of the public funds, was resorted to in 1820 simply as a clumsy and semi-barbarous mode of checking fraud and defalcation. Owing to the want of a proper system of inspection and auditing, there was a great deal of malfeasance. The proper remedy was to improve the checking and oversight and the organization generally. The plan actually resorted to was to dismiss every such officer at the end of four years, so as to compel him to balance his accounts at that date. Instead of being abandoned as an expedient to be ashamed of, and which in a mercantile counting-house would have seemed ludicrous, it rapidly took the shape, in the eyes of politicians, of a valuable feature in their system of "rotation," and the

four-years term came to have a sacrosanct character, somewhat like the number seven in necromancy and astrology, as the true and only period for the commission of an American revenue officer to run.

In these days of increased facilities in travel and communication, and of improved discipline and organization and bookkeeping, it is as absurd to keep it up, as a guarantee of fidelity and efficiency, as it would have been to maintain in the English Exchequer the old tally system of keeping accounts by notches on a stick. We pay the President and the heads of departments considerable salaries for the work of inspection—that is, for seeing that their subordinates are fit men and do their duty, and for keeping a close watch on their accounts. To enable them by law to find out whether a subordinate is doing his duty, by dismissing him at the end of four years, is to encourage supineness or negligence on their part in the interval, and sometimes to encourage even connivance at, and participation in, fraud, as in the case of Assistant Postmaster-General Brady in the Star-route service. In other words, the time which the President and heads of departments give to distributing patronage—that is, to creating vacancies and filling them—is so much time taken away from their proper work of vigilant inspection, and the four-years term is a direct encouragement to neglect of this work, and is nothing else. There is no excuse or defence to be found for it, either in principles of human nature or human experience of affairs, in any field of administration.

The sole defence for this Burroughs attempt to introduce it into the Internal-Revenue service is to be found in the report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in 1877, which contains the curious suggestion that the Collector's term of office should be fixed at four years, because:

"It often happens that when a Collector has served for a longer period than four years constant efforts are being made for his removal, and many officers, however well they may have discharged their duties, feel, after a four years' service, uncertain as to the length of time they will be retained in office. Where an officer is appointed for a term of four years, he has a right to expect that if he performs his duties diligently and faithfully he will not be disturbed until his term expires, and this feeling of security I regard as an important element in maintaining a good public service."

This is very like saying that in order to deliver a public servant from constant unjustifiable vexation and annoyance he should be guaranteed against them for four years certain and then dismissed altogether, which is one of those grotesque remedies for abuses which are generated only in the spoilsman's brain. Why, also, an officer who performs his duties diligently and faithfully is entitled to security from disturbance for four years, and not for eight or twenty years, is one of those questions which probably not even a spoilsman could answer, or could only answer by saying that four was the mystic number of "politics."

The true reason for the revived interest in the four-years-term system among professional politicians is undoubtedly a desire to escape from the growing strength of the public condemnation of the prostitu-

tion of the public service to partisan ends. The four-years term would furnish a period at which any competent officer could be got rid of, and room made for a "worker," without attracting public attention and without the necessity of giving reasons. In practice, it greatly stimulates the disease of office-seeking among the unsteady, shiftless, and incapable portion of the community. It gives notice to the whole tribe of the exact day and hour when a vacancy will occur, and thus enables them to prepare their intrigues, and deprives the appointing power of that best defence against their rapacious importunity, which consists in saying that the office is already filled by a competent man—an answer which no lazy "worker" ever receives without being in some degree, however small, improved by it. He cannot hear it without being reminded of something which in "politics" he is very apt to lose sight of—that civilized government rests, after all, on private morality, and that no government can long with impunity disregard the elementary virtues which hold society together. No government can in our time long continue to declare in its practice that honesty and capacity shall not open the door to its offices, that faithful service shall not give security in them, that the tried man shall count for less in them than the untried man, and that the very fact that a man has done a thing well for four years is a reason why he should not be allowed to do it for six. Civilized society could not exist under such rules, and, *a fortiori*, no civilized society can long permit its government to enforce them in the administration of its affairs.

TERRIBLE REMARKS FROM GAIL HAMILTON.

GAIL HAMILTON's political articles are always read with a certain interest, because, whether rightly or wrongly, she is supposed to utter or reflect "the Blaine view" of things. Many people fancy that by reading them they get hold of the talk of the Blaine circle, thrown into a sort of literary form. She almost always writes to defend the spoils system; but then she is not fortunate as a defender. She defended Mrs. Howe, the Boston banker, and maintained that ninety-six per cent. per annum could be very properly offered as interest on deposits by a female banker, without giving reason to any but the most degraded minds to suspect this person's honesty. Mrs. Howe is now lamenting in the penitentiary the failure of the jury to share Gail Hamilton's admiration of her mode of doing business, and we fear that if some similar test of the value of her apologies could be applied to the spoils system, it would be found that she had done just as little for it as for Mrs. Howe. But no feebleness or inconsequence as an advocate can deprive her of her attractiveness as a mouthpiece. As she says, or is supposed to say, what Mr. Blaine says to "the boys," she will always be sure of a hearing.

What stirs her into utterance now in the latest *North American Review* is the public "cussedness" in supposing that Guiteau is a product of the spoils system, or that his crime

illustrated the workings of the spoils system. How, she asks, could he be the product of the spoils system when he never got into it; and how dare any one say that he murdered the President because he was disappointed in getting an office, when he never had held an office? Far from being a part of the spoils system, or a product of it, or an illustration of it, he was a "vagabond and villain from the beginning," "organically and primordial-ly worthless, instinctively and imperiously vicious, grotesquely consistent to the horrible inconsistency of his depraved and deformed being—mere human vermin," and a great deal more of the same sort. Guiteau gets no mercy at her hands. In fact, she handles him without gloves. He catches it, whichever way he turns, in the most terrible English that was ever showered on a bad man, and she winds up one burst of vituperation by proposing that in some future "higher life," in which we suppose the nominations will go to the right men, we should take the Guiteaus, and "instantly on discovery, not with ignominy, but with tenderness," kill them, or, as she calls it in her pretty, alliterative way, "release them from the doom of birth by the boon of death, and so relegate these marred and monstrous abortions to the Creator's hand to be restored to the decency of non-existence." Now, what has brought all this down on poor Guiteau—this horrible proposal, not simply to hang him but annihilate him—is simply his having been used by the reformers as an argument against the spoils system. His career had been a bad one, but he had not, like some of Mr. Blaine's appointees to high office, been convicted of any infamous offence. He had managed, in short, like many of the Mikes and Barneys, while not passing as a saint exactly, to keep out of the hands of the law, and we must protest against the fate which Gail Hamilton has prepared for him. He must not be "reduced to the decency of non-existence," and shall not be as long as there are judges and police in America.

We must also protest against the conclusion which Gail Hamilton reaches, after disposing of Guiteau, "that the great obstacle to civil-service reform to-day is civil-service reformers." Matters, we think, can hardly be quite as bad as this, and Miss Hamilton would not have said this had she been talking in her usual moderate, accurate, restrained, Blaine way, and had not been excited by her analysis of Guiteau's character. There must, we feel sure, be some obstacle to civil-service reform a little greater than the civil-service reformers themselves. And we cannot quite agree with her in thinking that the lesson Garfield's assassination should teach is "not to assassins, officeholders, office-seekers, or others of the disreputable and dangerous classes," but "to the respectable and religious, and that the lesson is to speak the truth." Is there not some mistake about this, just as there was about Mrs. Howe's banking? Can it be possible that the lesson of Mrs. Howe's banking was not to the swindlers, and confidence men, and Peter Funks, and banco men, and check-raisers, but to the merchants and bankers of unimpeached integrity? Surely Gail Hamilton would not now maintain that it was. And if she was mistaken in that case, may it

not be that the lesson of Garfield's death was really addressed to the liars, intriguers, dodgers, jobbers, bribers, and bribe-takers of our politics, and not to the harmless bodies who simply ask that the tenure of office be permanent, and that appointments be made for competence only, and dismissals for misconduct only, and that perjurers, forgers, and embezzlers, and ignoramuses shall not be employed in it on any terms whatever?

BISMARCK'S DEFEAT.

PRINCE BISMARCK's pet scheme, the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, which was to put the manufacturing and warehousing of tobacco and the sale of manufactured tobacco of all kinds into the hands of the Imperial Government, has been buried in the German Reichstag under an adverse majority of 276 to 42 votes. Any other Minister would probably permit it to stay buried. Bismarck had exhausted all the resources of his political skill to build up a majority for this one measure. He had tried all his power of persuasion; he had, at the expense of his pride and consistency, yielded the position he had taken against the arrogations of the Church to propitiate the Clericals and to render a Parliamentary combination with them possible; he had used all the influence of the Government with the voters at the last elections to win a favorable majority; and after all this comes a defeat so crushing that it would dishearten any statesman of ordinary courage. But Germany is not one of those constitutional states in which a defeated Minister is compelled to retire. Bismarck is sure to have the Emperor behind him as long as he lives, and so he may stick to his plans with the hope of wearing out the Opposition.

It would be doing injustice to a statesman who has rendered his country such eminent service, to think that he clings to this scheme from mere pride of opinion and despotic obstinacy. He acts upon the belief, as expressed by his organs, that, while the German Empire is fairly safe externally, it cannot be considered safe internally until "it stands financially on its own legs"—that is to say, until the Government of the Empire has financial resources of its own and under its immediate control to draw upon, which will make it independent of contributions from the several states. And Bismarck thinks that the tobacco monopoly would furnish such an independent and reliable source of revenue. He further believes that something must be done to "improve the lot of the common people," to blunt the edge of the Socialistic movements, and to attach the masses by such means to the central authority. With this view he conceived some rather extraordinary schemes to insure disabled workmen against want and distress, and the new revenue was to serve to some extent in this direction. Finally, the tobacco monopoly no doubt appeared to him a very expedient measure in a political sense, as it would have immensely increased the number of officials, licensed traders, and laboring men directly dependent upon the favor of the Imperial Government, to be used as a huge electioneering machine.

It cannot be denied that the first-mentioned

object to be served by the tobacco monopoly is a perfectly legitimate and very important one, which no statesman in Bismarck's position would lose sight of. The trouble is that he has set his heart upon a particular fiscal measure which the people, with rare unanimity, have told him again and again that they do not want. This unanimity seems to be almost absolute, for it is very certain that even the pitiable minority of forty-two votes which the bill obtained in the Reichstag is composed of men not who believe in the tobacco monopoly as a desirable fiscal scheme, but who would stand by Bismarck under any circumstances. The only excuse he seems to be able to give for his persistence against an overwhelming public opinion is, that he does not know of any other plan that would answer the object, and, according to the cable report, he went even so far as to say in the debate: "Let the Reichstag substitute other proposals for those of the Government, unless the Reichstag regards the present state of things as absolutely excellent." This is a curious appeal appearing side by side with another declaration, made almost in the same breath, "that party government in Germany is impossible." It lays bare the fundamental difficulty of the political situation in Germany in a nutshell.

Here is a great Minister who, by extraordinary achievements, has won immense renown and authority. His self-reliance has grown with his success. Having done many great things so well, he thinks he must himself do all that is to be done. His authority is to be shared by nobody. All initiative—legislative as well as executive—is to remain in his hands. The Parliament is not to originate anything, but only to assent to what the one supreme mind originates. The executive power is to remain independent in its own right, and party government is to be scouted as an impossibility. At last this Minister runs against a public opinion which he cannot overcome. The Parliament stubbornly refuses to assent to a measure upon which he has set his heart, and which, to do him justice, he thinks necessary for the safety of the country. And then the same man, to whom Parliamentary initiative has always been an object of contempt, in his last perplexity exclaims: "Why does not the Parliament invent and propose something better?" Bismarck has never wanted the Parliament to propose anything—he was to do all the proposing himself. Moreover, according to his theory, the Executive is to continue to hold in its hand the initiative in all things after he himself shall have left the scene. And now while he, the only man who with his extraordinary genius and authority could in our days sustain such a system, is still on the stage, he calls upon the Parliamentary power to propose something better than he had to propose. The truth is that only Bismarck's prestige and energy have stood in the way of Parliamentary, that is, party, government in Germany ever since the Austrian war. It will inevitably come when he is gone, and the great mistake and failure in his splendid career will turn out to be that, while he was in power, he did not train and accustom those who, after him, will have to conduct the Government, to the habits and responsibilities of it.

THE CASE AGAINST MR. GLADSTONE.

LONDON, June 5.

WHEN the Government released Messrs. Parnell and Dillon, and announced what the world considered (though Mr. Gladstone refused to accept the term) a new departure in their Irish policy, they stated that it was to have two sides, as it had had in the preceding year—repression of crime and relief for the peasantry. As in 1881 we had the Coercion Act and the Land Act, so now we were to have some provision for those tenants who were hopelessly in arrear with their rent, together with more stringent measures for the discovery and punishment of crime. Their first idea was to carry out the indulgent part of the programme first, and relieve the tenants before strengthening the law against offenders. When Mr. Forster quitted the Cabinet he announced that he would have remained if they had provided a stringent punitive act in place of the Coercion Act, which they intended to let drop. Mr. Gladstone observed that there must be some legislation against secret societies, but he spoke of it as matter rather for the future, implying that he would proceed first to deal with the case of tenants in arrear. All this was changed by the Phoenix Park murders. English feeling demanded, Irish feeling did not at first seem likely to refuse, something to deal with men capable of so atrocious a crime. Accordingly, the new Prevention of Crime Bill was brought in five days after the murders, and has ever since been pressed on, all other business being set aside for it. The only exception is in the case of the Arrears of Rent Bill, which was also carried to a second reading, and then postponed till the Crime Bill should get through committee. It has now been three days in that stage, and seems likely to remain there for as many weeks, for although the Irish members have not yet entered on any systematic obstruction like that of last year, they seem disposed, and are indeed almost compelled by the exigencies of their own position, to discuss every clause with great fulness, and to propose many amendments tending to modify the rigor of the bill. The Tory party of course welcomes this rigor, and reserves its criticisms for the Arrears Bill, a measure which proposes to pay, first out of the surplus funds of the disestablished Irish Episcopal Church, and next out of the public exchequer of the United Kingdom, a large part of the debts which the smaller tenants owe their landlords from the years 1878 and 1879, when the harvests were exceptionally bad. It is admitted that some measure of the kind is needed, but the particular plan the bill takes is severely criticised, not by the Tories only, but also by many among the Liberals, who apply the strict tests of political economy. To make a gift to tenants in arrear is, it is alleged, unfair to those tenants who, often with great efforts, have already paid their rents. It teaches a bad lesson and sets a dangerous precedent; for whenever again a series of bad seasons arrives, the suffering peasant will rely not on his own exertions, but on the prospect of help from the national treasury. The Conservative leaders—though their sympathy with the Irish landlords, and wish to see the latter get what the bill provides for them, prevent them from offering any strenuous opposition to it—have laid hold of it as the latest development of the mistaken and mischievous plan which Mr. Gladstone has in their view followed throughout his dealings with Ireland. And Lord Grey, one of the most eminent and sharp-tongued of our elder statesmen, once himself a Minister, but long since retired into critical isolation, passes a similar condemnation on the Irish policy of the Liberals, though, to be sure, he thinks the Tories little better. It may be worth while to present

to your readers an outline of the case made against Mr. Gladstone and his "policy of conciliation."

Conciliation (say these critics) is another name for concession, and concession has been the great cause of Irish agitation. Up till 1867 the attitude of England had been firm, and though disaffection existed, it was not increasing. But then, under the alarm caused by the great Fenian conspiracy, the Disestablishment movement began, and in 1869 the Protestant Church was disestablished, and the appetite of the Irish populace for revolution thereby whetted. Next, in 1870, came the Land Act of that year, which disturbed and confused the hitherto clear and plain relations of landlord and tenant, giving the latter an interest in the land which no contract had given him, and which was really incompatible with the power the landlord ought to have of dealing as he thinks fit with his own for the purpose of making the most of it. These two measures had the further evil of being avowedly passed in obedience to "Irish ideas"—i. e., to ideas which not only were not those of the whole United Kingdom, but were even opposed to previous principles of policy, and were adopted, not because they were sound, but because the Irish people were possessed by them. In other words, the pernicious doctrine was recognized that Ireland is a quite distinct part of the United Kingdom, to be dealt with in a peculiar way, and that when she asks for anything she is to have it. During the following years these mischiefs had time to bear fruit in the popular mind, but while the Tories were in power (from 1874 to 1880) there were no further concessions. As soon, however, as Mr. Gladstone came into office in 1880, the hopes of the Irish agitators revived. The new Government allowed an act which forbade the possession of arms to expire, and when outrages increased, during the latter part of 1880, used its executive powers timidly, and forbore, till January, 1881, to apply for any further powers. In compliance with the demands of the Land League, which had by this time become a power, it brought in a bill to prevent tenants who had been in arrear with their rent from being evicted, and through Mr. Forster's mouth denounced the House of Lords for refusing to join in depriving landlords of their clear legal rights. In 1881 it passed the famous Land Act, a measure unsound in conception, because opposed to the teachings of political economy, and unjust in operation—a measure which handed over to the tenants a large slice of their landlords' property, which destroyed the action of free contract, and which, by providing for a general reduction of rents, encouraged the hope that rent might be altogether extinguished. Even then, however, the Government refused to pay for defaulting tenants out of the pockets of English taxpayers the debts they had incurred. This last humiliation was reserved for the present session, and has been made at the instance of those very Land League leaders whom the Government had thrown into prison, and whom it has now released in the vain hope of being aided by them to pacify Ireland.

What will be the next concession? Since 1868 every compliance has only led to further demands; and as these demands have been admitted the hopes of the agitators have risen, the appetite of the people has been whetted, and the English Government has slipped further and further down the perilous slope. What is still worse, the means by which these concessions have been wrung have not been argument and reason, they have not been even appeals to pity and benevolence; they have been threats and denunciations in the English Parliament, backed up by murder, treason, and the whole swarm of

agrarian outrages in Ireland. This is why concession has aggravated instead of mitigating the situation. The Irish people have felt that it was due not to conviction, but to fear; they have, therefore, been stimulated to increase English fear by more and more flagrant breaches of the law. Their whole character has changed in the process. The old friendliness between them and their landlords, where the landlords were genial men, has been replaced by suspicion and hatred. Disloyalty is more rife than ever, and more ready, as the Phoenix Park assassinations prove, to resort to the most horrible means. The Protestants in Ireland, hitherto attached to England, have lost all confidence in the power of England to protect them. Capital, so much needed in a poor country like Ireland, has been frightened away. No one knows what may come next. When Mr. Gladstone, after vehemently refusing the demand for the three F's (fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rent), practically conceded them in the beginning of 1881, while denying that they were in his bill, then, at the end of the same year, defended them, and now actually consults Mr. Parnell and brings in such an Arrears Bill as that gentleman writes from Kilmainham Jail to demand, what certainty can there be that he will not next year concede Home Rule, which he has admitted to be a question fit for discussion? And when Home Rule has been granted, will it not be a mere preliminary to the separation of Ireland and the recognition of her national independence?

Even this (the critics of the Government add) is not the whole of the mischief. The Liberal Ministry talks of governing Ireland by Irish ideas. But what are Irish ideas? Are they not something more than Irish? Are they not simply the communistic ideas of the Social Democrats of the Continent of Europe, the same ideas at bottom as have more than once imperilled society in France, as have stimulated assassination in Germany and Russia? The demand of the peasantry to have the land, which the law declares to belong to their landlord, given to them without paying for it its fair price, is flat Communism. This is the ugliest face that democracy shows; and it is one which the democracy can show in England as well as in Ireland. We have got in England, too, a vast laboring population, at present fairly comfortable, and therefore contented, but liable in a time of commercial depression to be brought to the verge of want. Will not they be ready to profit by the example which Irish agitators have set, and open an assault on property in England like that which has overwhelmed the landowners in Ireland? They will not be checked by appeals to economic doctrine, because they have seen the teachings of political economy derided. They will not quail before the executive authority of Government, for they have discovered that behind the walls and towers which confront them there is a timid garrison, ready to surrender at the first attack, afraid to face the anger of the populace.

Not conciliation, but coercion, is what is wanted in Ireland. Force is wanted—prompt, decisive, unsparring. Soldiers and policemen are wanted, judges, and jailers, and executioners. If the ordinary machinery of the law will not do, let us substitute special commissions of judges for juries. If that will not do, let us have martial law, and take the risk of punishing some innocent people for the sake of putting down disorder. But force is just what a Liberal Government, whose maxim, enounced by Mr. Bright, is that "Force is no remedy," cannot use. "Radicalism," says Mr. Goldwin Smith, himself a republican—"Radicalism cannot govern." That is to say, the principles of the Liberal party, its deference to the

popular will, its disposition to believe that the mob must be in the right, its aversion to all punishment and all bloodshed, its fondness for new ideas, its want of national pride, make it unfit to deal with a crisis like the present. It is too much distracted by philosophy, too much enfeebled by sentimentalism, to grapple with the hard facts of the case, and apply boldly, unrelentingly the only appropriate remedy. The Government have, no doubt, brought in a stringent measure in their Prevention of Crime Bill. But apart from the risk that in deference to the advanced section of their party they may consent to let it be whittled down in committee, they are destroying half the effect of it by carrying through along with it their Arrears Bill, avowedly as a sop to the recalcitrant tenantry, avowedly in obedience to the commands of the Land League. Before anything whatever is done for the peasantry the authority of law and the sovereignty of the Queen ought to be sternly and completely vindicated. Not till then can conciliation cease to be taken, and justly taken, for weakness and cowardice.

These are the doctrines which one hears in London, and to a less extent elsewhere through the country, from those who constitute Society; and not from Tories only, but largely also from persons claiming to be Liberals of that "older and better" school which was untainted by modern Radicalism. Of course, they are often presented in far more violent terms. The hatred of Mr. Gladstone, in particular, has risen to something even beyond its usual height. It is not to be denied that there are some plausible grounds for them. The English Parliament, largely composed of landowners, has dealt with the Irish landlords in a way which no one, three years ago, could have ventured to foretell. We have found ourselves, before we knew it, in the throes of a social revolution. The language held by the Nationalist Irish members in the House of Commons has been usually irritating and sometimes insolent. They have made it very hard for any Government to take their advice; hard even for those Liberal members who have most sympathy with their programme to coöperate with them. Hence it is easy to represent the conduct of the Government, when it does listen to them, as humiliating, and that of members who support them as unpatriotic. Not only do the interests of the English landholding class seem threatened, but the pride of Englishmen of all classes has been affronted by the apparent powerlessness of the law to check outrage. It wanted but little more to produce a panic, and a panic would have driven the present Government from power and evoked a burst of ferocity against Ireland. Still, there is another side to the question, another aspect of these last fourteen years of Irish difficulty. I shall try to lay it before you in another letter.

Y.

EGYPT AND ENGLISH OPINION.

LONDON, June 6.

THE opinion of Englishmen in England on the present crisis in Egypt is so far an important factor in the problem, that it is worth analyzing with some care. Having had occasion to return to England on private business just before the overt revolution broke out in Cairo, I have been able to watch all the stages of public opinion in this country, as well as to contrast the opinion of Englishmen here with that of Englishmen in Egypt.

I have been surprised to find how successful Sir W. Gregory and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt have been in diffusing erroneous impressions concerning Arabi Pasha, and in darkening the views of Liberal politicians. In the lobbies of the House of Commons, among newspaper writers, and in

the most intelligent political circles, I have found but one opinion—namely, that, somehow or other, there is an important National party in Egypt, that Arabi Pasha personates it as its adequate representative, and that the European intervention, usually known as "the Control," is opposed to, and inconsistent with, the proper development of the ideas and projects of this party. These opinions, however, though universal in Liberal circles, are very loosely held, and every one has professed himself to be imperfectly informed and sincerely desirous of knowing the truth. In one very radical quarter I found the belief to prevail that though there was undoubtedly a National party deserving the vehement sympathy of the lovers of liberty everywhere, yet that Arabi Pasha had, from his military and self-seeking proclivities, ceased to be its representative, and ought to be dissociated from it, in the same way that the two Napoleons had, in their later careers, been unfaithful to the promise of their early days. In one high diplomatic quarter I was positively assured at the beginning of the crisis that it was expected that the next day Arabi would depose the Khedive, that he would act for a time as Governor-General under a firman from Turkey, that this firman would recognize the rights of foreigners resident in the country, and that a European Congress would immediately assemble. Though at first facts seemed to belie this programme to a ridiculous extent, it is remarkable that time has imparted increasing veracity to it. The notion of a Congress, preceded by Turkish intervention for the immediate preservation of order and the upholding of the authority of the military usurpers, has as yet prevailed over every other view, though the maintenance of the present Khedive on the throne is still recognized openly as a diplomatic *sine qua non*.

The ready belief in the veritable existence of a "National party," and the eager support of its claims, find their explanation in a protest, of an honorable kind, against vicious views in relation to Egyptian matters which have done much to distract and pervert the public mind. One of these is that the first duty of the English and French in Egypt is to secure the regular payment of interest to the bondholders. Another view is that England, in the interests of her Indian empire, ought to grasp any opportunity which may offer to annex Egypt, or to secure an influence there not less preponderating than that which it exercises over a variety of native states in India. Yet a third view is that England and France must coöperate at all hazards, even if this implies any amount of truckling to the sinister African policy of France. To these objectionable views may be added that of reinforcing Ottoman influence by allowing Turkey practically to vindicate her abstract right to secure order in one of her provinces.

There is no doubt that these several obnoxious views have persistently been held in many quarters in reference to Egyptian affairs, and that they are not without their vehement advocates in the Conservative press in England and in some of the leading Continental journals. Lord Beaconsfield's Government was credited with an ambitious annexation policy in respect of Egypt, and an Anti-Aggression Society has been organized in London for the express purpose of preventing and defeating all such schemes. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt has just been addressing this Society at a special meeting convened for the purpose, and, though I understand his arguments did not seem very convincing, yet the fact demonstrates the sensitiveness that prevails on the subject. M. Gambetta and his organ, the *République Française*, incessantly deprecate the recognition or use of Turkish influence in Egypt, and a like antipathy

to all that is Turkish, though based on very different grounds, is a central point in the foreign policy of the Liberal and Radical party in England.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the wish for some "National party" in Egypt should be, if not the father of the thought, yet a most favorable medium for a rapid and unquestioning belief in the existence of such a party when once casually mooted. The voluble translations of Arabi's vague phrases into the terms of English constitutional politics, and the simultaneous assembling of the Chamber of Notables (an aristocratic body well known to the worst days of Ismail's reign), favored the progress of the gigantic fraud. The early victories of military intimidation were, for a time, successfully disguised as democratic and constitutional triumphs. The mysteries of Egyptian administration—which were only mysteries because no one troubled themselves to read the clear language of Blue Books and Controllers' and Liquidators' Reports—were supposed to conceal horrid orgies of European fiscal oppression. In fact, they exhibit, when duly studied, miracles of band-to-hand conflicts on the part of honest administrators with every form of Eastern corruption, injustice, and cruelty. The true story of European intervention in Egypt is that of restricting despotism, of introducing a reign of justice, of abolishing, reducing, regulating, and ameliorating taxes, and of preparing the way—and the only way—by which a horde of crushed slaves can be educated into a civilized and independent nation.

There is no doubt that English opinion is gradually being righted on the whole subject, though the recent history of Egypt is so complicated and tortuous that even the best-informed writers of leading articles know, or seem to know, only a part of the facts. But the statement of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, that Arabi Pasha had now "thrown off the mask," and the utter surrender of all concern for him personally on the part of most of his original English adherents, are proofs that light is breaking in upon what was, certainly, a very dark place. The fact is that the complication of Irish politics, and the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons, have so far absorbed public attention since Parliament met that there has been little spare time or energy for foreign politics, least of all for those requiring much historical study and the correct appreciation of far-reaching, intricate facts.

The contrast between the state of mind in England and that of Englishmen in Alexandria is very noticeable. Though I have discoursed on political affairs with all classes of resident Englishmen in Cairo and Alexandria, I have not found a single one who at any time regarded Arabi Pasha as other than a pure military adventurer, or who had any belief in the existence of any party which, by the most superficial observer, could justly be denominated "national," or who considered that Egyptian administration, as conducted since the accession of the present Khedive, in 1879, was other than the most beneficial of which the country at present admits. No doubt the Administration is capable of receiving all sorts of improvements, readjustment, and retrenchment—as what administration is not?—but the cardinal vices of corruption and injustice, which beset all Oriental governments, have been successfully grappled with, and the danger is that the good be undone instead of being made better.

A.

BISMARCK AT FRANKFORT.

BERLIN, June 1, 1882.

SINCE, for a foreign observer, there is not much of real importance in our politics at the present moment, I devote this letter to literary matters, and first report upon a newly-published book which is causing unusual excitement in all political circles. It bears the simple title of 'Prussia in the Bundestag' (the former German Federal Council, created in 1815 and thrust out of existence in 1866), and, by authority and with the assistance of the Prussian State Paper Office, is edited by Dr. von Poschinger. It is intended to give in three volumes a synopsis of the development of German public affairs, and especially of the relations of Prussia to Austria, from 1851 to 1859. This first volume covers the years 1851 to 1854, and begins with the appointment of Herr von Bismarck as Secretary of Legation in Frankfort on May 10, 1851, or more especially his promotion to the Ambassadorship in the same city on July 15, 1851; while it closes with the Crimean War in 1854. As was to be expected from its source, it abounds in a large number of important official documents written by Bismarck. Up to that time the insignificant dikemaster had not been of any consequence. While, in 1848, member of the Prussian Landtag, he was not taken for a serious man. Being a reactionary Hotspur, he provoked the Opposition, threatened them with the guillotine if his party should come out victorious, visited public houses in Berlin and picked quarrels in the interest of the royal family. If the *Kreuz Zeitung* (reactionary), of which he was one of the collaborators during the revolutionary period, can be trusted, the present powerful Chancellor was so poor in 1849 that his party, for the services rendered to it, presented him with a new suit of black clothes. But with his appointment to a public office the scene instantly changed. He was hardly thirty-six years old when he assumed the responsibility of the important office of Ambassador. He immediately proved that he was a man of superior timber, who, like an old, experienced diplomatist, acted with perfect self-assurance among all the practised old fogies of the Diet.

The very first documents of the young diplomatist show all the advantages which the great statesman commanded at a later period. The affairs upon which Bismarck entered in Frankfort were very complicated. After her moral and political defeat, Prussia was not considered of such importance as she should have been, and only acted a secondary part with all the other smaller states. Austria presided and used her influence chiefly to put down Prussia. Until 1848 the two Powers had lived on comparatively friendly terms; the former often left to Prussia the details of the business, and only kept an eye on her own interests and prerogatives, which she rather sought to enlarge than to have them touched by other influences. But when in 1848 it appeared that the German nation principally looked to Prussia and depended on her for its unity and greatness, Austria and the small states under her leadership were filled with suspicion and distrust against Prussia, notwithstanding Frederic William IV. had rejected the imperial crown. Henceforth Austria considered it her chief object not to let the dangerous Prussia gain ground. Austria's privileged position in the Bundestag offered a thousand occasions for humbling and pushing back Prussia, whose representatives at Frankfort had hitherto submitted with good grace to Austrian arrogance. Bismarck was not the man to follow in their footsteps, and by his pluck soon made himself obnoxious and inconvenient to such experienced diplomatists as Münch-Bellinghausen and Prokesch-Osten. Bis-

marck's attacks were principally directed against the latter, who slandered his older colleague in every possible way. It is very fortunate that Bismarck began his diplomatic career in Frankfort and became acquainted with the miserable constitution of the German Confederation at its source. Had he been employed as a diplomatist only at foreign courts, his later tendencies would perhaps have taken quite another direction than they actually did. But in Frankfort he personally suffered so much from the Bundestag's *misère* that afterward it became his first object to put an end to it. In the published documents of that time the German standpoint in no way clearly appears; only the Prussian one is emphasized. But you must consider that these papers were directed to Secretary Manteuffel, to whom, as to all Conservatives, the German idea was a horror.

Baron Prokesch's policy against Prussia has since been put down, but unhappily the principles by which he was guided, and the tactics employed by him, which Bismarck indignantly describes and rightly condemns, seem to have found followers, for at the present day we see them often applied, not only in foreign, but also in home politics. It is highly interesting to observe the then unknown gentleman in his official reports and private notes, to follow his way of thinking, reasoning, and acting. He writes an excellent style— terse, comprehensive, and vigorous; never misses the right word, and always hits the mark. His descriptions and characterizations are full of reality, good-humored softness, and bitter severity. Again and again he reverts to his subject in other and not less clever words, and leaves the impression that everything that could have been said about it has been said. I here give as an example of Bismarck's power of characterization his portrait of Herr von Prokesch in a confidential letter written on May 30, 1853, to Baron Manteuffel, the then weak and pusillanimous Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

"Herr von Prokesch," Bismarck says, "is too well known in Berlin to require any allusions to his person; but I cannot help remarking that the serenity and ease with which he affirms false facts, or disputes correct ones, greatly surpasses even my highest expectations. This state of mind finds its completion in a quite surprising degree of cold-bloodedness in dropping a topic, or in changing front as soon as the falsehood with which he starts is proved. In case of need he covers his retreat by flying into a violent passion, by a parade of moral indignation, or by a rather personal attack, with which he transfers the discussion to a new and heterogeneous field. His principal weapons in the petty war which, where our interests diverge, I have to carry on with him, are (1) passive resistance—i. e., protracting a case—by which policy he forces me into the rôle of a disturbing and (according to the nature of the case) a narrow-minded dunner; (2) attacks by his encroachments, accomplished as President, which usually are so calculated as to make their rejection on my part appear that of a quarrelsome character, contentious about trifles. In my relations to him I can therefore hardly avoid the appearance of a petulant disposition if I would not prejudice the interests of Prussia to such an extent that my yielding would still increase Austria's claims.

"Thus, the other day I was compelled to call him to account for having arbitrarily contracted a loan of 37,000 florins for fortification purposes, on which occasion he referred to 'hundreds' of precedents, of which, however, he could not specify a single one. Thereupon he asserted that a certain discretionary power of the President was necessary for carrying on business matters; that in the time of Count Münch (Prokesch's predecessor) no member of the Diet would have dared to call its attention to such trifles, and that a good understanding between Prussia and Austria could not be maintained if every act of the President was exposed to malevolent criticism on the part of the Prussian Ambassador. My refutation of these views caused him to answer, that my (temporary) Presidency had not been examined in all its details, and that he calmly awaited the resolution of the Diet, which he was sure would disavow the acts of the President. If, however, contrary to his expectations, it should do so, he would pay out of his own pocket the trifling

interest which had accrued in the meantime. I answered that the latter way appeared to be the only agreeable and best solution of the present difficulty, and that I would most cheerfully contribute my share rather than act officially in a case which my Government would not and could not sanction. The smallness of the object would thus help us to do away with a precedent which, if now passed over without objection, might in future easily be repeated and extended. I have thus checked the Ambassador, and put him back into his proper limits with that energy which, in the nature of the case, I am entitled to exhibit, and I have at the same time done everything in my power to lead back the discussion into the track of friendly understanding."

On another occasion Bismarck writes:

"Even a common difference of opinion he treats as incomprehensible and ill-natured, but a denial of the lawfulness of his enterprises he considers a personal offence; so that a quiet discussion upon such divergences is quite impossible, as he immediately takes to general protestations, wholly extraneous counter-charges and suspicions, and becomes excited to unpoliteness—whether from calculation or from fault of temperament I cannot decide."

It is impossible to give many extracts from this valuable collection. I should be at a loss to make a proper selection, and besides, the letters enter too much into the details of a period which has no other interest for a foreign reader than to show the method in which Bismarck shuffled the cards twelve years before the war of Prussia against Austria broke out. Without him, the old relations between the two Powers would still exist—namely, Prussia would still follow in the rear of Austria. Let me, however, quote one other instance of Bismarck's diplomatic coolness and foresight. In January, 1854, Herr Prokesch-Osten sold an old bureau without having first emptied it. The purchaser found its drawers full of important state papers, such as correspondence of the Austrian Ambassador with press and political agents hostile to Prussia, with drafts of reports to his Government, newspaper articles written by him which offensively attacked the person of Frederic William IV., and that at a time when Prokesch was the accredited Austrian Minister at the Court of Berlin. The great majority of these papers were so venomous that when published they were taken for the outflow of radical rage. Nothing could have come more apropos to Bismarck than to have these rich treasures offered and sold to him. He was thus enabled to characterize Prokesch's diplomacy in his own words. Manteuffel, to whom Bismarck had reported his good luck, asked him how he proposed to avail himself of it; whereupon the young diplomatist answered on February 2 as follows:

"The moment that we succeed in disposing of the Imperial Cabinet to a policy with which we can sincerely go hand in hand, and which contains in itself the guarantee of its permanence, it will be very desirable to have Baron Prokesch recalled from here; but as long as on the field of federal policy we are more rivals than allies, I consider Baron Prokesch a less dangerous representative than any *persona grata*. The appointment of such a *persona grata* would be highly charged on our debit side by Austria. His successor would, perhaps, conceal the anti-Prussian tendencies of his instructions with more dexterity and taste, and at the same time be more clever in their execution, than the present President of the Diet; the more so, as the successor would secure for himself in a higher degree the esteem and the confidence of his colleagues. My humble vote, therefore, is not to make use of our discovery to attack the person of Baron Prokesch and to drive him out of his present office, but, on the contrary, to derive as much advantage as possible from our good luck by making him feel uneasy in his position, and by so far acquainting our allies in a confidential way with the facts at our command that our patience and forbearance will appear in the most favorable light. I would likewise recommend you to inform the Vienna Cabinet, indirectly and unofficially, that we have the most convincing proofs of the Austrian intrigues against us which have hitherto constantly been denied, and of the real sentiments

which these intriguers entertain even against the august person of His Majesty the King.

"Another great advantage, which, in my opinion, is not the least we can derive from the materials in our hands, will consist in our making public the source from which public opinion is worked on in the Austrian sense, and thus giving open proof of the value of those political convictions which manifest their German patriotism by extolling Austria and vilifying Prussia. I have not an official publication in view, nor a verbal reprint of the calumniating articles. My plan of operation would be to throw out the first hints in a very unsuspicious newspaper, and as if our documents were in private possession, and to print in one or more articles the essential contents of the *species facti*. Perhaps the *Preussisches Wochenblatt* would do best if your Excellency should also think fit to take one of the editors into our confidence. When the transactions between Herr von Prokesch and his agents become known, they will effect a strong reaction on public opinion in relation to those articles which have been written in favor of Austria. The irritation with which a few months ago, some hints were received about the Austrian inspiration of the German press already now proves that I am correct. . . . I would, therefore, most humbly propose to feign that by the article or articles to be published the attention of our Government had been directed to its or their source, and that in this way we had obtained official knowledge of the materials, which, in the manner alluded to, could likewise be used for further ends."

Here the above correspondence has been received with a mixed feeling of admiration and pity. While Bismarck's letters, on one side, exhibit the greatness of the statesman, on the other they show the limits which such greatness imposes. We find in them the traces of that utter contempt of men whom, when using them as his tools, he always supposes to be directed by selfish motives and low ambition. In relation to diplomatic transactions, agrarian tendencies, and manufacturing interests, he may be right; but that our people, and especially our Parliaments, are so destitute of honest and unselfish characters, Bismarck himself will not and cannot pretend. Like Napoleon, he only knows how to reckon with the mean instincts of human nature; he laughs at the elevation of noble minds, of ideal aims. Independent men turn away from him more and more, and even among the Government officers he can only command the assistance of subordinate characters, clerks and "Streber," while men of self-respect hold back. His calculations have proved wrong several times and produced political failures, if not in our foreign, in our home policy. The defeat of his pet measures on the politico-economical field should have given him a warning. †††

Correspondence.

THE LABORER'S QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Justin McCarthy, in the *Tribune*, gives the following as the objects of the Irish Land League:

"It aimed at the extinction of landlordism in Ireland: not the extinction or extirpation of the landlords, but the abolition of the landlord system and the introduction of a peasant proprietary system which should leave the land of Ireland in the hands of one set of owners, each occupant being the proprietor of the ground he tilled and improved."

He also says:

"There are about 600,000 occupying tenant-farmers, and rather more than 500,000 laborers."

Passing by the neat distinction between extinguished landlordism and extinguished landlords (which some landlords may appreciate), I would ask why the laborers also are not to become proprietors of the ground they till, sharing with the new "set of owners" in the ratio of five

to six, taking so much of each farm? How else is there to be an "extinction of landlordism"?

ANTI-LANDLORD.

Notes.

It has not been made clear, it seems, that the national dollar-subscription in honor of the poet Longfellow is not restricted to contributions of that amount. Any larger sum than one dollar will be gladly received by the Committee on Collections, and may be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. John Bartlett, Box 1590, Boston, Mass., or, as already announced, to the Publisher of the *Nation*.

Cassell & Co. publish immediately a new and cheap edition, in cloth, of Richard Jeffries's 'Wood Magic.'

With the fifth volume, 'Condensed Novels and Stories,' and by no means with an anti-climax, ends the uniform edition of Bret Harte's works published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Any author should rejoice in such a handsome memorial of his genius. The same firm announce for the autumn a 'Life of Ole Bull,' by his widow, and for speedy publication a new volume of poems by Longfellow, embracing all those written after 'Ultima Thule,' and several not heretofore printed. The title, 'In the Harbor: Ultima Thule, Part II,' was chosen by the poet himself.

A. D. F. Randolph & Co. send us artotype likenesses of Longfellow and Emerson, after drawings by T. de Codezo. As these apparently follow either photographic or other original portraits, there is little motive for putting up with second and third-hand performances which are, moreover, not remarkable in themselves.

Better than the foregoing Longfellow is the lithographic drawing by Peter Calvi, issued by R. H. Curran & Co., 12 Pemberton Square, Boston. It is a correct if not an inspired work, but in framing it it would be well to shut out the bust, which is very inartistically rendered.

Still another likeness, an etching by W. M. Chase, appears in part 7 of the serial *American Etchings*, edited by Ernest Knauff and published by the *Art Interchange* Publishing Co. It is a ghostly profile seen against an almost black background, so that the effect is nearly that of a medallion. The drawing is forcible.

The second volume of Mr. Pierre Irving's 'Life and Letters of Washington Irving' ('Geoffrey Crayon' edition) has just been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. On p. 336 will be found a letter of Irving's, written in 1840, throwing his weight in favor of an international copyright law. After half a century its appeal is still as necessary as it was originally.

Dr. J. G. Holland's 'Nicholas Minturn' and 'Miss Gilbert's Career' are the latest additions to the Messrs. Scribners' uniform reprint of that author's works. The same firm have issued a collection of 'Westminster Sermons,' by the late Dean Stanley, five of which relate to the Abbey itself, six to royal and national events (such as the Prince of Wales's critical illness in 1871, and his setting out for and return from India in 1875-76), fifteen to eminent Englishmen who had passed away—from Palmerston to Beaconsfield—and seven to miscellaneous subjects, like Paris under the Commune and American Independence. The range of topics is great enough to illuminate every one of the Dean's mental characteristics. On reading his sermon on Lyell, 'The Religious Aspect of Geology,' one can but wish he might have survived to preach a funeral discourse over Darwin.

Harper & Brothers have done well to combine in one volume, for their Franklin Square

Library, three volumes of the 'English Men of Letters' series—viz., Pattison's Milton, Leslie Stephen's Pope, and Goldwin Smith's Cowper. Still other such combinations are in progress. They have also prepared a special 'Tourist's Edition' of Drake's 'Heart of the White Mountains,' with Mr. Gibson's exceptionally fine illustrations, in which the chief sacrifice is one of margins, due consideration being had for the tourist's trunk or bag. The book remains a very beautiful one, and is provided with a map of the White Mountain region.

Estes & Lauriat, Boston, have now brought out the 'Coues Check List of North American Birds' in the revised second edition which we announced last April. It is an eminently handsome book, with an old-fashioned garrulous title, and most carefully considered in choice of type, size of page, and the more precious details of literal accuracy. It opens with a dissertation on the use of names, and when the numbered check-list is reached, every name is repeated in a footnote scrupulously marking its pronunciation (on the compromise system proposed by the author), and interpreting its significance. These notes are highly interesting, and imply a vast amount of labor, which has been shared by Mrs. Weston-Aiken. There is a list of the words defined, and a catalogue of Dr. Coues's ornithological publications. The scheme of this 'Check-list' seems admirably calculated to reconcile youthful naturalists to the scientific nomenclature, as well as to protect the untrained adult from egregious errors in orthography and orthoepy.

Our historical magazines being too prone to neglect everything later than the Revolution, it is refreshing to find a long defence of President Tyler by his son in the June number of the *Magazine of American History*. The paper is not the work of an historical mind, but it is worth reading. President Tyler's title to be the great original Texas annexationist, on grounds absolutely independent of slavery, and by means equally devoid of public morality, is asserted with a heartiness which only extracts can illustrate. "He [Tyler] was a man, indeed, . . . on practical questions always right" (p. 394). "If . . . success is to be attributed to the importance of the results achieved, what administration, from Washington's down, can compare with it?" (p. 398).

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have just issued an interesting catalogue of Shaksperiana and of books about the stage, most of which are still in print, but scattered about in the catalogues of various American and English publishers. A catalogue of 536 numbers of books relating to the theatre, music, and art has been put forth by the old book-store of Stoll & Bader, in Freiburg, Baden, and another of 603 numbers, relating to music and the drama, by Nijhoff, of the Hague. Both of these foreign catalogues are cosmopolitan and polyglot; the latter is especially rich in the Dutch drama.

The latest issue of the English Dialect Society, being the conclusion of Nodal and Milner's 'Glossary of the Lancashire Dialect' (London: Trübner & Co.) calls for no special comment. In the ninth annual report, prefixed to the volume, mention is made of the tracing of the lines between the southern and midland, and midland and northern dialects in England, based on the treatment, in each division, of the Anglo-Saxon short and long U in some house. This shibboleth, beginning in the South and ending in the Scottish Lowlands, is successively pronounced *sum house*, *sōm house*, *sōm hōss*, and *sum hōss*. "Of course," says Mr. A. J. Ellis, "the four districts above described are essentially of to-day; six hundred years ago all said *sōm hōss* [i. e., Northern English]."

Part 16-23 of the new 'Brockhaus's Conversa-

tions-Lexikon' (New York: L. W. Schmidt) carry the work to and a little beyond the name of the great African explorer, Barth. The more significant articles are on Asia, Australia, Atlantic Ocean (all accompanied with maps), Ashantee, Ethiopia, Athens (with a plan, and with views of the Acropolis), Assyria (with a plate of antiquities), Architecture (with many plates), Banks, Baden, and Eye. Ethnographical plates also illustrate the articles on Asia and Australia. In biography this part of the alphabet is notoriously meagre.

Not content with annexing Alsace-Lorraine territorially, the Germans are proceeding to annex the Alsatian literature, beginning with Erckmann-Chatrian. The prospectus of a German translation of their romances declares that as these literary Siamese twins have a name half French, half German, their writings may be properly considered as German stories in a French clothing. The German publisher merely proposes to restore to them their proper habit. What will M. Arède Barine say to this? Erckmann-Chatrian of all writers! Recall the 'Histoire d'un Paysan,' the 'Conscrit de 1813,' and the 'Invasion.' France some time ago lost Charlemagne from her list of great kings; if this new appropriation succeeds, Napoleon also must be surrendered to the enemy.

From the *Journal de la Jeunesse* M. Charles Joliet has reprinted in a neat little volume of 216 pp. 'Mille Jeux d'Esprit' (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern), a collection of questions and puzzles—acrostics, rebuses, charades, square words, etc., cryptographic, alphabetic, and arithmetic curiosities, etc., *bouts-rimés*, and the like. Solutions are given in the second part. The book may be recommended to all children who are sufficiently advanced in French to be able to make use of it, and sufficiently fond of solving difficulties to enjoy it.

A discussion in *Nature* of the mildness of last winter in England justly ascribes it to the unusual violence of the southwesterly storms there prevailing. When this has been said often enough, geographers will begin to reflect that it is not the Gulf Stream that imparts to Western Europe its temperate winters, but rather its situation eastward (and therefore leeward) of an ocean which moderates, as do all oceans, the climate of any region fortunate enough to derive its prevalent winds from off the water.

—In the *Atlantic* for July Mr. Thomas Hardy carries the adventures of his astronomer and lady in "Two on a Tower" several steps forward, and introduces a page or two of conversation between Sammy Blore, Hezzy Biles, Nat Chapman, and Haymoss which has a queer echo of the talk of Shakspeare's clowns and bumpkins. This has been a peculiarity of Mr. Hardy since he first made a success with it in 'Under the Greenwood Tree.' Notwithstanding what Mr. Matthew Arnold would call a note of falsity, there is underneath it a certain probability in the peasant types into whose mouths it is put, that makes it sometimes very entertaining. Mr. Hardy's characters in all classes of society, indeed, have much that is human in them, although their humanity has a strong literary cast. Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, in a valuable article on "Naval Courts-Martial and the Pardoning Power," proves by indisputable statistics what has been merely surmised before, that the abuse of the pardoning power is beginning to have a shocking effect on the discipline of the Navy. For seventeen years since the close of the war sixty per cent. of the sentences of naval courts-martial have been reversed, set aside, or commuted, or in some way unexecuted; in the last few years the condition of things has become fairly deplorable.

Down to 1877 the percentage of unexecuted sentences was reasonably constant—not far from fifty-four per cent. But in the last four years the percentage of sentences unexecuted rises to 79.4, while in 1880, of twelve cases of commissioned officers sentenced, every sentence was either set aside or remitted, or commuted to an extent equivalent to setting aside. Most of these cases were for drunkenness and scandalous conduct. Mr. Lodge evolves from the statistics a regular "law" with regard to the matter, that "high rank joined with a severe sentence is almost sure to bring some form of pardon." As the rank declines, the severity of the sentence has less and less apparent effect. "But low rank and a heavy sentence fare far better than low rank and a moderate or light sentence." The inference is inevitable that "in the majority of cases pardon or remission depends on the position of the culprit, the amount of pity excited by the weight of the sentence, and the quantity of influence which can be brought to bear." With these facts before us, it looks as if the petition presented to the Senate by some three hundred officers of all ranks in the Navy, praying that the practice of interfering with the sentences of courts-martial may be stopped, ought to receive some attention. Mr. Lodge thinks that the pardoning power itself should be restricted by law, but he does not explain how this can be done under the Constitution.

—Mr. William Henry Bishop's "House of a Merchant Prince" is continued through two chapters, in one of which is a more than usually clever conversation of the "platonic" variety—one of those conversations between a man and woman based on a professed friendship, but made interesting only by the tacit recognition of a sentiment of a different nature. Jay Gould, if he will take the trouble to read Mr. Henry D. Lloyd's article on the "Political Economy of Seventy-three Million Dollars," will find himself accounted for in a very different way from the simple explanation that used to be given by his partner, Jim Fisk. Gould's career, according to Mr. Lloyd, "illustrates what may be accomplished by a scientific devotion to the principles of competition, *laissez-faire*, desire of wealth, and self-interest, if not the harmony of interests." In other words, Gould's acquisition of his immense wealth is due to political economy, and political economy is all bosh. Such is Mr. Lloyd's contribution to the warfare carried on in England against the *laissez-faire* school. We fear, however, that even Ruskin will repudiate this volunteer. Gould is the product of corrupt courts and legislatures, and no economist of any school ever taught that the principle of *laissez-faire* covered the right to bribe judges or "gobble" railroads, any more than it does the right to rob and murder on the highway. Mr. Harrison continues his studies in the South, and discusses in an interesting manner the interference with the freedom of the ballot in the black districts of Mississippi, Southern Alabama, and Louisiana. About the facts there is no dispute. The whites prevent the negroes from voting, or else falsify the count, and thus keep the government in white hands. This was universally admitted, Mr. Harrison says, in conversation, and defended as necessary for the preservation of society. Black government would mean anarchy and chaos, the whites say, and advance many reasons for thinking so; none of these, however, are so strong as the character given the negro population by Mr. Harrison, himself a strong anti-slavery man:

"As to any knowledge, intelligence, or judgment, such as should equip a man, even in the lowest degree, for the exercise of the right or power of suffrage, I cannot see that they know

anything about it, or possess it any more than sheep do. If by a vote we mean, according to the definition long ago enunciated by Horace Greeley, 'that by which the will, preference, or opinion of a person is expressed'; if we mean anything which is the voluntary and purposed act of a man, with the object of announcing a decision, choice, or judgment which he has formed or arrived at, then these negroes are not able to vote, and do not vote. They have the 'right' to vote under the law, but they have no real power or ability to vote. They do not and cannot choose; they have no knowledge of what is involved on one side or the other. They have no materials for an opinion or judgment, nor any ability to form a preference or decision regarding political matters. They know nothing of the position, doctrines, history, traditions, or aims of either party, and they have no idea or notion whatever of their respective merits or principles."

Mr. Longfellow's poem, "The Bells of San Blas," has an interest as being the last verse written by him.

—There are two musical articles in *Harper's* for July. The first is ostensibly on "Franz Liszt," but those who expect a sketch of interesting events in the pianist's life based on his recently published biography and collected writings will be disappointed. It is one of those flimsy articles whose chief aim seems to be to impress the reader with the fact that the writer met Liszt on a certain occasion, and talked to him, and was kissed on the forehead, and got a paring gift of violets. A specimen of the style needs no comment: "Was the master thinking of Chopin as he raised his superb hands, and let them fall, with a touch as delicately soft as rose-leaves, and weave, as if in dreaming, the memories of mountain lakes and pine forests into an improvisation full of starry minors from echoing Alpen-horns?"—whatever this may mean. The second article is on "Sailor Songs," and is much better. Although there are still sailors in abundance, the typical "Jack" of the pre-propeller age—the "packetarian" and the seaman of the clipper-ship fleet—has utterly vanished, according to the author, whose aim has been to secure for the benefit of posterity some of the wild melodies characteristic of the old sailors from the few specimens still lingering in marine museums or hospitals. The sailor songs are not like those of civilized men. "They breathe the wild freedom of the jungle, and are as elusive as the furrow left by a ship on the trackless ocean." Many of them are doubtless of negro origin, having been caught by the sailors from slaves working in Southern ships. "Dixie" is cited to give an idea of their proximate character, and more than a dozen of them are printed in musical notation, although "no true idea can be given on paper of the wonderful shading which shantymen of real genius sometimes gave" their songs, by their subtle variations of time and rhythm and expression. The songs are divided into two classes—pulling-songs and windlass-songs, the former being used as mechanical aids to work, the latter more elaborate and varied both in the solo part and the chorus. The illustrated articles are excellent in various ways. Mr. Henry W. Lucy touches off the characteristics of the leaders of the two parties in England from a Liberal point of view, but in a fair spirit, and with the aid of an extensive portrait-gallery. Another type of faces is reproduced in connection with Mr. G. W. Sheldon's article on "The Old Shipbuilders of New York"—an article not more entertaining than mortifying when one reflects that there are no successors to the Berghs, Steerses, Webbs, Browns, and Westervelts, and on the causes of the "fault" in the succession. The recent astonishing discoveries of royal tombs in Egypt are related by Miss Amelia B. Edwards; and the mummy-cases, the kingly mummy faces even, the funeral canopy, and much else, are shown in capital

engravings. Mr. Julian Hawthorne contributes some brief thoughts on the late Mr. Emerson, dwelling rightly on his essentially American character, on the rare quality of his oratory, and on the still rarer quality of his verse. A full-page woodcut by Closson, after Rowse's well-known crayon likeness of the poet, will go far to satisfy those admirers who have not been fortunate enough, and are not able, to procure Schoff's masterly steel engraving from the same original.

—Some remarks on "Our Geographical Nomenclature," by the retiring President of the Boston Appalachian Mountain Club, are printed in the first number of the third volume of *Appalachia*. With many of Mr. Fay's strictures all must agree; but his general dislike to descriptive, and preference for personal, names, especially in the case of mountains, does not seem wholly reasonable. He gives a black list of names of streams west of the 100th meridian, as combining "every shade of unsuggestiveness and poor taste"; yet, except for the possibility of repetition in so vast a country, we could not find it in our heart to object to one-sixth part of them. Grey Bull, Muscel-Shell, Bad Land, Red Willow, and Long Pine, for example, do not seem to call for any apology, and do, on the contrary, wear a prima-facie justification as being associated with natural features, or with incidents which are not ignoble simply because they are solitary and forgotten. A poet may build on Grey Bull River as surely as on Hart-leap Well; and it is, in fact, a poetical feeling which applies such an epithet as "Jack-straw" to the region of confused dead timber on Pike's Peak noticed by Mr. Stearns on page 40 of *Appalachia*: the metaphor is perfect. Doubtless somewhere the name "Leadhole" occurs in our mining districts; and this is every whit as defensible, if not quite as euphonious, as the Buco del Piombo near Erba in Lombardy, visited by Mr. Henck, and described on page 14 of the present number. In short, the best as well as the worst names arise spontaneously, and the whimsies of the learned and fastidious are as much to be dreaded—witness the town nomenclature of Central New York, or the original hybrid name "Losantiville" proposed for Cincinnati—as the vulgarity of the miner and the frontier backwoodsman. The only safe censorship, on the other hand, is that of the Post-office Department, which can do something to reduce or to prevent the perplexing multiplicity of identical names. In saying this, we do not mean to deny the Appalachian Club the right to propose names for peaks hitherto undistinguished.

—There is hardly an article in the present number of *Appalachia* in which the general reader cannot take an interest. Besides the President's address, we may mention Mr. Henck's account of his visit to Milan as delegate to the fourteenth annual congress of the Italian Alpine Club; Mr. Stearns's "Ascent of Pike's Peak"; Mr. Ritchie's "Winter Excursion to the White Mountains"; Mr. Davis's "Little Mountains East of the Catskills," which, with its illustrations, will prove a very instructive guide to those who summer among these mountains; Mr. Edmands's "Mountains between Saco and Swift Rivers"; and Mr. Wm. H. Pickering's description of his new contour map of the Presidential Range. This important map also accompanies a handy little "Walking Guide to the Mt. Washington Range" just published by Mr. Pickering (Boston: A. Williams & Co.), which opens with some capital advice to pedestrians, then enumerates the distant points visible from Mt. Washington, with compass bearings (the most distant is Ebene Mountain in Maine, 135 miles; the next, Mt. Whiteface, in the Adir-

rondacks, 120 miles), gives a list of elevations, and describes eighteen different excursions, with approximate time of achieving them. It would be superfluous to predict that this guide-book will prove a great stimulus, as well as a great safeguard, to White Mountain pedestrianism, and indeed it should be a *sine qua non* to all tourists who wish to determine the innumerable peaks, valleys, and ravines seen from the more famous trails and summits of the Presidential Range.

—The celebration of Mrs. Stowe's seventieth birthday on June 14, in Massachusetts, by the publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly* and a number of her literary, philanthropic, and theological friends, was a graceful reminder not only of the rapidity with which the number of those who bore the brunt of the anti-slavery conflict is diminishing, but of the enormous changes, both social and political and moral, which they themselves have seen and been a part of. Since "Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared, the political and scientific world has undergone great revolutions, but hardly so great as the moral world. Anybody who takes up the book now, and has any difficulty in finding in it, as a piece of literary work, the reason of the enormous success which it achieved, may take it for granted that he knows nothing of the state of mind in which its earliest public received it, or of the mental and moral conditions of a society in which negro slavery had powerful defenders in every walk of life, and in which its ultimate abolition seemed too far off to be within the sphere of practical politics. The greatest peculiarity in the lot of the anti-slavery champions who are now so rapidly passing to their final rest, lies in the fact that while other reformers as well as they have seen their reform triumph, no others have seen the very beginning and the very ending of so stupendous a reform in their own lifetime. No others ever saw, within a single generation, the idea of a few "fanatics" take hold of the resources of a great nation, cover the waters with its fleets, and darken the land with its armies, and get itself proclaimed by the throats of a thousand guns. All this, however, Mrs. Stowe has witnessed. Her book was very fortunate in its opportuneness. It came into a world that was apparently waiting for it with such eagerness that it would probably have had a great success even if its literary charm had been less than it was. It is now probably about to achieve a second and no less remarkable success as an historical reminiscence. It is not simply, like most historical romances, a mere picture. It was really in itself one of the weapons in a great fight. Consequently, as long as the story of the fight is told, it will be read, not simply as a description of what caused it all, but as itself one of the causes. It must always remain one of the monuments of literature, and, perhaps, the only striking and enduring literary monument of the anti-slavery struggle. In other products of the anti-slavery pen, everything was sacrificed to the immediate effect on the contest. But Mrs. Stowe's book successfully recognized also the claims of art, and has thus secured for her a wider and more enduring fame than has fallen to the lot of the other writers in the same field.

—The Archaeological Institute of America, if it had merely set an example of book-making like that of the first volume of its *Papers* (Classical Series), would have conferred a substantial benefit. We have not, indeed, in a long time seen a more tasteful and inviting book than Mr. Joseph Thacher Clarke's "Report on the Investigations at Assos, 1881," conducted under the auspices of the Society. The only fault we can find with it is the too glossy surface of the paper,

but the error in this direction is very slight. Mr. Clarke's modest narrative of what has been achieved in the Troad is remarkable for its learning and for its literary quality, the one not over-weighting the other. It is eminently readable, and nothing has been omitted in the way of maps and illustrations to make clear the site, the conditions, and the progress of the excavations. The historical preparation of the expedition has been most ample and intelligent, and topographically, artistically, and archaeologically the little group of explorers seems to have been strong and capable. Mr. Clarke describes the inevitable Turkish obstacles to the work—the bad faith, the false assumption of authority, the attempts at blackmail by the authorities. He notes the growing ascendancy of the Greek population in the Troad, notwithstanding all adverse influences, and the steady retreat of the non agricultural Moslem. Both races were employed as workmen, and became emulous of each other; the Turks, though inferior on the whole, receive honorable mention, with pity for their exhausting feasts in the observance of the Ramazan. The best previous description of the remains at Assos was found to be that of Baron Prokesch-Osten, whom Bismarck took such satisfaction in badgering at Frankfurt. The French Texier, on the other hand, drew inordinately on his inner consciousness, and is the object of much censure and exposure on the part of Mr. Clarke. The delimitation and ideal restoration of the Doric Temple on the acropolis at Assos was the principal achievement of the expedition last year. Fragments of sculpture were discovered matching and supplementing those already in the Louvre, and sufficient remains, after Turkish spoliation, of the bases, capitals, and drums of the columns to determine that there was no entasis in these, as there was no perceptible curvature in the stylobate. In these particulars, and in some others, the divergence from the Parthenon was considerable. The carvings of the frieze and of the metopes were decidedly archaic, yet their age is variously estimated by scholars. Some primitive polygonal masonry occurs in a neighboring fortification known as the "Seaward Acropolis." Mr. Clarke ventures the suggestion that the Pedasos sacked by Achilles ('Iliad,' xx. 92) should be identified with Assos, not simply on the theory of phonetic decay, but in consideration of the geographical context of the passage alluded to. We have not room to carry further our synopsis of this highly interesting volume, so creditable to all concerned in its production. Mr. Francis Henry Bacon's delicate and picturesque delineations deserve all praise. An appendix contains the inscriptions found at Assos, the most important being that on a bronze plate celebrating the accession of Caligula; some lively notes of travel to the disputed sites of Troy, etc., Homer in hand, by Wm. C. Lawton; and, finally, a report on the geology of Assos (the acropolis is a crater) by J. S. Diller.

—Mr. Berens's 'Myths and Legends of Ancient Greece and Rome' (Clark & Maynard) possesses a good deal of merit. The stories are told with unusual spirit, so that this little book will be found attractive to young students: it is well illustrated from ancient sculptures (many of the illustrations being, however, rather too small); and it contains a very good account of Roman mythology—we know none so good in English. It would have been better to put the Roman mythology as a whole by itself. This would have enabled the student to obtain, what it is now so hard to get, a connected idea of this little-known subject. The arrangement followed in this book, on the other hand, has the advantage of affording an easy comparison of Greek and Roman mythology, where Minerva, for example, follows directly upon Athene. The text is generally very

correct. It is strange that the worship of Cybele (p. 18) is associated with Crete rather than Phrygia, as Rhea the Great Mother was worshipped in Crete, but Cybele (her name Berecynthia is not given), with the troupe of Corybantes and the myth of Attis, belongs to Asia Minor. Comus is given, p. 184, as a Roman god: if he was a divinity at all, he was Greek, not Roman, and but for Milton we should never think of him as belonging to the classical pantheon. There is a very good chapter upon the public worship of the Greeks and Romans, in which, however, hardly anything distinctively Roman is mentioned; and this deficiency is still more apparent in the chapter upon Festivals which follows, the only Roman festivals mentioned being the Saturnalia, Cerealia, and Vestalia.

—The Society for Photographing Relics of Old London has issued this year (its eighth) to its subscribers a series for the most part consisting of the architectural works of Inigo Jones. It has been moved to such a choice by the destruction during the past twelvemonth of Shaftesbury House, in Aldersgate Street, one of Jones's designs, which the Society had already photographed (No. 82), and by changes in and threatened demolition of other monuments by the same hand. It appears to have staved off the latter fate from Ashburnham House, until recently owned by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and meantime it has obtained views within and without of this interesting building, and now sends them forth, with the effect, it is to be hoped, of confirming the temporary arrest of the destroying spirit. Six of the twelve plates (62-67) relate to Ashburnham House, which, as is known from engravings and drawings of the last century and the first decade of the present, has had a second story added to it, and been otherwise altered in recent years. The south transept of the Abbey, the roof of the Chapter House, and the eastern wing of Ashburnham House, all enter into the view (No. 61) of Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, whose picturesque grouping recalls the view of St. Paul's from the court of the Oxford Arms. No. 62 gives the full exterior of Ashburnham House from the same yard. Nos. 63, 64 (the order should be reversed) show the staircase, the most notable feature of the house, for ingenuity and beauty alike; No. 65, the graceful doorway leading from the Anteroom into the Drawing-Room; No. 66, the Dining-Room, or rather the alcove end of it, the design of which is not Jones's, but probably Ware's (*ante* 1735); No. 67, the Garden, with its ancient boundary-wall, being that of the Refectory of the Abbey, which from Edward I.'s time was an occasional place of session for the Commons. Here a little summer-house, often figured, is the only memorial of Inigo Jones. His grand performance, the Banqueting House, Whitehall, is the subject of plate No. 68—a noble study in itself, and historically famous for the beheading of Charles I. in front of it (it was built in 1619). The Water Gate of York House (No. 69), left high and dry by the Thames Embankment, has an archaeological, but hardly an artistic, interest. Nos. 70, 71, 72 are views of the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields, including Lindsey House and Newcastle House. The last was not Jones's work, but Winde's (about 1686). It is, despite the loss of some of its decorative motives, a singularly dignified and imposing residence. The series thus hastily enumerated proves anew the able direction of the Society. More than ever, now that a descriptive text regularly accompanies the photographs, the annual issues commend themselves to persons of antiquarian tastes, and especially, for professional reasons, to architects. Back sets can still, to a considerable extent, be obtained of the

Honorary Secretary, Mr. Alfred Marks, Long Ditton, Surrey, to whom we owe the historic research bestowed upon every building in the letter-press. The permanence of the autotypes should not be overlooked.

—Perhaps no places stand more in need of electric light than libraries and reading-rooms. Hitherto many libraries have refused to submit their costly books to the risk of fire and the certainty of a slower but not less real destruction by heated air which the use of gas always involves. The discomfort to readers is equally great, and to brain-workers there is more than discomfort—there is danger, from a kind of brain-stewing which increases fatigue, impairs the working powers, and in the long run undoubtedly shortens life. From these evils, which we have not in the least overstated, the new light is free. No wonder then that its use is rapidly spreading. The Royal Library at Brussels is the last, so far as we have heard, to adopt it. Their "installation" is a "lampe-soleil" of MM. Clerc and Bureau, Belgian inventors. It is described as being much more steady than other arc-lights, of very agreeable color, not at all trying to the eye, but on the contrary soothing, and costing only one-fourth as much as its competitors. The hall is lighted by three of these lamps as well as it would have been by 125 gas jets of sixteen candle power. The difference in the heat evolved is enormous. The light is all thrown up on to the ceiling and thence reflected through the room. In this way the strong lights and shadows, which are usually the worst feature of arc-lights, are avoided; the light at the reading table is agreeable, and every alcove is sufficiently lighted to make it easy to find the books. The vestibule and cloak-room are lighted by a dozen incandescent lamps invented by M. L. Nothomb, a Belgian officer; the Belgians naturally think them superior to Edison's.

—Richard Fleischer, known through his connection with the *Deutsche Revue*, makes his appearance in the new capacity of editor of the 'Vierteljahresberichte über die gesammten Wissenschaften und Künste,' published by Gustav Hempel, of Berlin (New York: L. W. Schmidt). The object of this new enterprise is to issue before the close of every three months six brochures of the size of an ordinary magazine, containing, in concise and generally intelligible form, summaries of all the important recent discoveries, improvements, and novelties in pure and applied science, the industrial and fine arts, and literature. These summaries are intended less for specialists than for educated people in general, who wish to keep abreast of the times without being able to devote their leisure to a perusal of the numerous periodicals dealing with special subjects. In botany alone, according to Dr. Wiesner, some two thousand writings are published annually, thus making it difficult for even a specialist to take note of all significant facts. If the qualification of Herr Fleischer for the supervision of such an extensive scheme may give rise to some doubts, they are likely to be dispelled by the list of forty-five names of eminent professors who have promised their permanent or occasional coöperation. The first part of the first volume contains contributions on Physics, by Prof. P. Zech; Botany, by Dr. Wiesner; Anthropology, by Dr. Hellwald; Egyptology, by Prof. Brugsch; Philology, by Prof. Mähly; and Geography, by Prof. Th. Fischer. Of these the first is almost entirely devoted to discoveries in the practical application of electricity, while the second is doubtless the most interesting of all, as it contains a lucid statement of the reasons which have induced Dr. Wiesner to reject Darwin's circumnavigation theory as developed in his work on the 'Power

of Movement in Plants.' Dr. Wiesner's treatise, of which he here gives a synopsis, has been critically examined in recent numbers of *Nature* by Mr. Francis Darwin, the whole controversy being an admirable illustration of the objective and impartial manner in which the Darwins conduct their investigations and scientific discussions. Descriptive ethnology has long been recognized as offering more entertainment than the average novel, and Dr. Hellwald's article does not belie this view. Among the strictly technical facts noted in his article, none is perhaps of more importance than the reference to the investigations of Dr. Emil Schmidt, of Essen, which confirm the opinion already held by Broca that the current classification of skulls into dolichocephalic, brachycephalic, etc., is imperfect, being based on only two of the three dimensions of the skull.

BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America. By George Bancroft. In 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

MR. BANCROFT has in these volumes attempted to "trace the formation of the Federal Constitution from its origin to its establishment by the inauguration of its President." The first volume treats of the Confederation and the causes which led to the Federal Convention, the second of the Constitution itself and its adoption by the States. Appendices contain a quantity of documents and letters bearing on the events narrated, which Mr. Bancroft has collected from various sources.

The story of the formation of the Constitution is so well known, and has been so often told, that Mr. Bancroft could, in the nature of things, add very little to it. Facts and documents may be accumulated—and he has shown great industry in this part of his work—but they do not substantially affect the conclusions which must be reached on the main points. The book is chiefly valuable as a full and connected narrative of the adoption of the Constitution, not only by the Convention, but by the different States. It contains absolutely no original discussion; in fact, Mr. Bancroft's historical system almost precludes anything of the kind. History is with him a chronicle of events associated with and caused by distinguished men. His natural taste is for the picturesque and dramatic, as the excesses of his style amply show; and this disposition of his mind diverts him from the discussion of the growth and development of principles of constitutional law. Moreover, he is never satisfied with a calm, dispassionate analysis, but is always longing for an opportunity to express his approval or disapproval. To his mind the adoption of the Constitution is a classically dramatic episode in the history of the race; it "has perfect unity," and "falls of itself into five epochs or acts." His history of the Constitution is, accordingly, divided into five "acts," something like the "tyttes" of an ancient ballad, to each of which he gives an appropriate name—*e. g.*, I. The Confederation; II. On the Way to a Federal Convention; III. The Federal Convention; etc. The most credulous reader will hardly persuade himself that the work fell "of itself" into them. Mr. Bancroft, in the retrospect with which the book opens, himself gives an account of his view of "history." He thinks that

"History carries forward the study of ethics by following the footsteps of states from the earliest times of which there is a record. The individual who undertakes to capture truth by solitary thought loses his way in the mazes of

speculation, or involves himself in mystic visions, so that the arms which he extends to embrace what are but formless shadows return empty to his own breast. To find moral truth, he must study man in action. The laws of which reason is conscious can be tested but by experience; and inductions will be the more sure the larger the experience from which they are drawn. However great may be the number of those who persuade themselves that there is in man nothing superior to himself, history interposes with evidence that tyranny and wrong lead inevitably to decay; that freedom and right, however hard may be the struggle, always prove resistless. Through this assurance ancient nations learn to renew their youth, the rising generation is incited to take a generous part in the grand drama of time; and old age, staying itself upon sweet Hope as its companion and cherisher, not bating a jot of courage, nor seeing cause to argue against the hand or the will of a higher power, stands waiting in the tranquil conviction that the path of humanity is still fresh with the dews of morning, that the Redeemer of nations liveth."

Now, admitting this to be all true, it obviously furnishes us with no fundamental principles of any value in the study of the history of institutions or the development of constitutional law. The American Constitution offers to the student some very interesting problems. It was the first written charter in the history of mankind in which the attempt was made to enact in the form of permanent statutes, unalterable by the legislature itself, those cardinal principles of government which the experience of centuries had shown to be essential to national prosperity, individual freedom, and the administration of justice. It was the first attempt to erect a judicial barrier between those principles and the encroachments both of the legislature and the executive. The Constitution is a document which can only properly be studied by a critic thoroughly versed in the history of the English institutions out of which it grew: the monarchy, which was destined to be Americanized as the Presidency; the two Houses of Parliament, which were to be transformed into our Congress; the great landmarks in the struggle between arbitrary power and individual right contained in Magna Charta, the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, which were on this side of the Atlantic to be given a more sacred character than had been accorded to them in the land of their origin. That Mr. Bancroft is not such a critic, any one may see by a very cursory examination of these volumes. With regard to the *Federalist*, the essays of which still constitute the most valuable discussion extant of the political problems supposed to be solved by the Constitution, all that Mr. Bancroft has to say is that "they form a work of enduring interest, because they are the earliest commentary on the new experiment of mankind in establishing a republican government for a country of boundless dimensions." That this failure to examine anew the questions discussed in the *Federalist*, or even to give any account of the nature of the problems discussed in it, proceeds from distaste for the work, any one may satisfy himself by turning to chap. i. of book v., in which Mr. Bancroft undertakes on his own account to go over the ground covered by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, and show what the Constitution really is. Mr. Bancroft's established position as an American historian gives anything that comes from his pen an authority which, on such subjects as these, may be very misleading.

A few extracts will give a fair idea of his analysis of the Constitution. First, it "had its forerunners," for there were the colonial charters and "other precursors," but as to what these others were we get no more definite statement than that they were the "gifts of the ages." This is followed by two pages to show that the distinctive character of the American people is

their "individuality," and that "the Constitution establishes nothing that interferes with equality and individuality." Especially is this so in religion, for the Constitution withholds from the Federal Government "the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul." With all this individuality in matters of conscience, it looks as if labor ought to have been free, and Mr. Bancroft points out that the Convention "was careful to impose no new incapacitation on free persons of color; it maintained them in all the rights of equal citizenship; it granted those rights to the emancipated slave; and it kept to itself the authority to abolish the slave trade instantly in any territory that might be annexed; in all other States and lands at the earliest moment for which it had been able to obtain power." This singular analysis of the manner in which the Convention disposed of the slavery question is followed by a bare allusion to the tripartite division of the Government into legislative, executive, and judicial, and the paramount authority of the Constitution over laws enacted by Congress; but how this latter is enforced is rather obscured than explained by Mr. Bancroft's treatment of it. The question of the relation of the Federal Government to those of the States he hopelessly confuses by a continual use of metaphor which, however beautiful in itself, is far worse than useless in a historical work of this kind. Thus we learn that the States are "the parents, the protectors, and the stay of the Union"; that the Union without "self-existent States" is "a harp without strings," while "the States without Union are as chords that are unstrung." State rights are necessary, for without them "the Union would perish from the paralysis of its limbs." Figures of speech may be, as is so acutely demonstrated in "Father Tom and the Pope," the "pillars of the Church," but that they are a very poor foundation for analysis such as that undertaken by Mr. Bancroft, no one will doubt after an examination.

The chapter from which we have been quoting has a great deal to say about the relations of the States to the Union. Mr. Bancroft leaves the matter exactly where he found it. His researches have evidently suggested to his mind the question how far the old difference of view as to the relations of the States to the General Government can be considered a permanent political force in the development of our institutions. No one writes upon the Constitution without approaching this at many points. We are frequently assured that the Federal origin of the Government necessitates the perpetual existence of two opposite political parties—one struggling for centralization, or Federalism, the other for local self-government, or State Rights. If the former carried the day, the country would be governed from Washington; if the latter, the central power would become less and less, and that of the States greater and greater. Neither, however, can obtain permanent control, because both forces act upon the Government under the Constitution, and beyond the confines of this instrument neither party can permanently carry us. This view of party dynamics has a fascination for many minds on account of its symmetry; and it is flattering to national pride, because it makes out a striking likeness between the Government of the United States and that of the solar system, the ingenuity and simplicity of which we are taught to revere from our cradles. The two party tendencies correspond to the centrifugal and centripetal forces, either one of which alone would be fatally destructive, while both together maintain the earth on its appointed—or, as we may say, constitutional—orbit. A little reflection upon the history of

parties in the United States will serve to show at least that this analogy is misleading, and to suggest that the idea on which it is based is mistaken.

Undoubtedly, as the evidence collected by Mr. Bancroft shows, at the time of the formation of the Government, the States were still regarded as sovereign powers, and as calling into existence the Federal Government for certain definite objects, described and limited first in the Confederation, and afterward in the Constitution. In other words, the new Government was historically a creature of the States. So firm a hold had the original thirteen States upon the affection and allegiance of their subjects, that the Federalists had great trouble in getting the Constitution into working order, and, in the next generation, a politician appeared who attempted to establish the idea of State sovereignty as a fundamental political dogma which was to be a permanent guide in the interpretation of the Constitution. Calhoun's system was not logically consistent; for he juggled with it so that State sovereignty always yielded the General Government ample powers whenever they were needed for the defence of slavery, but none at all when they were required for the opposite purpose. Congress could secure the extension of slavery into the Territories and the erection of new slave States, because the States were sovereign, and the General Government is called upon to aid and foster their "domestic institutions"; so it could establish espionage of private correspondence to prevent the circulation of anti-slavery documents, though it was powerless to enforce its own laws against the veto of a State. There is no better proof of the heated and passionate condition of the public mind on all constitutional questions, during the slavery conflict, than the fact that Calhoun should have been able to persuade people that he was a great constitutional lawyer, or that his system had a consistent logical basis to rest upon. Calhoun's attempt, for a time successful, finally failed, and the centripetal force began to assert itself. But is it credible that the Calhoun theory of the Government should be regarded as anything more than an extinct force? Is there something in the nature of the Government which will compel history to repeat itself, and give us in the future other Calhouns, without slavery and with nothing but an abstract constitutional principle as their *raison d'être*? If there is, it is the business of constitutional historians to find it out, and explain it, and show how it works.

ROSENTHAL'S AMERICA AND FRANCE.

America and France: The Influence of the United States on France in the Eighteenth Century. By Lewis Rosenthal. Henry Holt & Co. 12mo.

It is not often that we have the pleasure of reading and reviewing so satisfactory a monograph as this. The subject is practically a new one. That American ideas had some influence on the course of the French Revolution is, indeed, generally admitted by the historians of that great upheaval; but no one of them has given to the subject more than a passing glance. Schlosser, Dahlmann, and Von Sybel have merely alluded to it, while Thiers, Mignet, Michelet, and Louis Blanc have been content to dismiss it with a paragraph. Laboulaye and Taine have disregarded it altogether; Lanfrey has given it but a cursory notice; and even Rocquain, the historian of the revolutionary spirit before the Revolution, has not thought it necessary to give to the subject more than a single page. But it was well worthy of careful study. Many of the political leaders of the movement had fought in

America, and had caught the American spirit. Some of them were of the old nobility. After the famous oath of the Tennis Court, it was for some days a question whether the division between the clergy and nobility, on the one hand, and the Third Estate, on the other, would be irreparable. On the 25th of June, a strong faction of the nobility solved the question by joining the commons. Among those going over were Broglie, Beaumarnais, Lameth, Noailles, and Custine, all of whom had been soldiers in the American war. La Rochefoucauld, Duport, D'Auvillon, Charles de Lameth, "Tonneau" de Mirabeau, and Lafayette remained behind, in order that they might the more readily persuade the nobles to yield to the popular wishes. It was very largely in consequence of this element that, two days later, the nobility and clergy decided to unite with the commons in the formation of a National Constituent Assembly.

Surely an influence so powerful as this was worthy of the historian's careful attention. The study was a difficult one, for it demanded new researches in the chaotic mass of the political literature of the time; but it has found a historian worthy of its importance. Mr. Rosenthal has carefully groped his way through the materials surrounding him, has noted his authorities at every step, has held the balance of probabilities with a level hand, has expressed himself at all points with critical moderation, has clothed his ideas with clear and elegant English—in short, has produced an exceptionally good specimen of critical historical work.

The volume begins by showing not only that the evils which overwhelmed France were evils from which America, under its new form of government, was absolutely free, but also that those evils were, in the opinion of many Frenchmen, the very ones which the American method was best calculated to correct. This belief was in every way fostered by Franklin in Paris, and by the French in America. Madame du Deffand wrote to Horace Walpole: "We talk of nothing but America"; and Soultavie declared, "I saw Franklin become an object of worship." When Adams arrived at Bordeaux he was received with a salute of thirteen guns, the city was illuminated in honor of America, and the inscription was put up, "God Save the Congress. Liberty and Adams." Lafayette wrote, from this side of the Atlantic: "Simplicity of manners, the desire to oblige, the love of country and of liberty, and a delightful equality reign supreme here among all classes of the people." In a word, the French were brought to see that the new government across the Atlantic combined order with liberty; and Mr. Rosenthal shows us, by a great number of quotations, that the desire for similar blessings for themselves and their country had taken possession of very many of the most prominent writers of the day. These good impressions were more than confirmed when, in 1783, a volume on 'The American State Constitutions' was published in Paris. It was of these that Sir Samuel Romilly wrote in his 'Memoir': "They certainly produced a very great sensation at Paris." They were generally noticed by the journals of the country. The *Mercur de France* but echoed the general sentiment when it declared: "The acts of the American Congress and those of the General Assemblies of the several States seem to be the handiwork of wisdom itself." In response to the interest felt, an enormous number of books and pamphlets on America sprang into existence. We are assured that they were to be found everywhere. The *Journal Général* said of them: "Ces ouvrages ont été accueillis avec une espèce de fureur." And yet the supply only answered to the demand.

When Jefferson went to France, he made his

way at once to the hearts of the people. "You replace M. Franklin, I hear," remarked Vergennes. "I succeed him, your Excellency; no one can replace him," was Jefferson's happy reply. This *bon mot* gave him an immediate introduction to statesmen and philosophers, as well as to the fashionable world. We soon find him writing to Madison, of France: "Its inhabitants love us more, I think, than they do any other nation on earth." The Virginian's house at once became the meeting place of many of the Revolutionary leaders. Duport, Lafayette, Saint-Étienne, Lameth, and others gathered around Jefferson's table to talk over the prospects of the movement, and to lay plans for the future. In this way Jefferson's influence made itself felt; and, a little later, it was carried into the National Assembly.

There is abundant evidence that the effect of American ideas on the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly during the early months of its session was very considerable. Soultavie expressed opinions generally held when he wrote: "The greatest part of the gentlemen Democrats who abandoned their order in 1789; who joined the commons; who proposed the Declaration of Rights; who directed the revolution against the *ancien régime*, had made their revolutionary studies in the United States." Jefferson himself relates how the Liberals of the movement, in one of the gravest crises of the Revolution, sought his advice, and how the interview, after continuing from four o'clock until ten, resulted in harmonious agreement. It is worthy of note, moreover, that the American Minister's counsels were uniformly in the interests of moderation. To such an extent was this felt to be the case that one of the Ministers of the French Government thought it worth while to write him and express the hope that he "would habitually assist at such conferences, inasmuch as he would be useful in moderating the warmer spirits and promoting a wholesome and practical reformation only."

But it was evident from the first that there was a very strong faction that would not follow the guidance of moderation. Of the three plans for a Constitution, the English and the American met with only partial favor, while the one that had received its principal features from the theories of Rousseau took strong hold of the Assembly. There is perhaps nothing in the history of the Revolution more interesting than the process by which the delegates were led at this point to reject the dictates of wisdom, and to adopt the policy of a political sentimentalist. At two points the Constitution adopted was fatally weak. The provisions for but one legislative chamber, and for giving to that chamber the power to change even the Constitution, were doubtless the most stupendous blunders of the Revolution. But what is here of especial interest to us is the fact that at the very moment when the decision of the momentous question was in doubt, the great name and authority of Franklin were invoked in behalf of the unicameral system. It is not a matter of satisfaction to reflect that at the most trying moment of the whole period the well-known views of the American philosopher were thrown into the wrong side of the scale. From the moment all authority was constitutionally vested in a single chamber, the more radical leaders of the movement began to acquire a steadily-increasing power, and the American influence began steadily to decline. During the ascendancy of the Girondists and the Jacobins there is no evidence whatever that a single movement or a single act was appreciably affected by the opinions of a single American. Thomas Paine lifted up his voice in behalf of moderation; but we all remember how he was condemned to the guil-

tine, and by what a curious incident he was saved on the very day of the fall of Robespierre.

FREEMAN'S WILLIAM RUFUS.

The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First. By Edward A. Freeman. Two vols. octavo, pp. 624 and 732. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1882.

SIX years ago, in the preface to the last volume of his 'History of the Norman Conquest,' Mr. Freeman expressed the hope that he might some time be able to deal more fully with the important reign of William Rufus, the son and immediate successor of William the Conqueror, than it was possible to do in concluding a general sketch of the Norman kings. "The fulfilment of the historian's purpose may at last be seen in two stout octavo volumes, now published in a form similar in every technical respect to the five volumes composing the 'History of the Norman Conquest.' Mr. Freeman says he is now done with this subject, although he still hopes to put forth the same story in somewhat briefer space, perhaps in a form intermediate between the seven large volumes and a very small one already published. From the vantage-ground of his completed work on the Norman Conquest of England, he will probably soon pass over to that broader, Continental ground of Norman conquests in Italy, Sicily, and Southeastern Europe. "The Norman in the great island of the ocean, and the Norman in the great island of the Mediterranean, naturally form companion-pieces." Mr. Freeman says he has already made some acquaintance with the Rogers and Williams of Sicily in their own home, which he well calls the meeting-place of the nations; and it is safe to predict that his story of these Norman vassals of the Church will assume even greater international significance than his account of the Williams and Rogers of Norman England.

William Rufus, thus familiarly known to his contemporaries by reason of his ruddy countenance, is graphically described by Mr. Freeman as "a man of no great stature, of a thick, square frame, with a projecting stomach." He appears to have been a caricature of his father, the Conqueror, both in body and mind. Freeman says William the Red may pass for William the Great with all his nobler qualities left out. Father and son were both ambitious to conquer and rule, but the one pursued determined ends with unyielding energy and unerring sagacity; while the other, though bent upon following his father's track of conquest and dominion, yet followed with unequal, uncertain steps. William the Conqueror conquered boldly and steadily, and he maintained his ground by blood and iron. William, the Red-faced King, conquered by fits and starts, often by bribery and intrigue instead of by force of arms, and frequently lost advantages which he had already gained. The Conqueror left England practically subdued by Norman power. The heir of the Conquest, forced by the rebellion of his Norman barons, fell back upon the support of his English subjects, and, while defeating Norman rebels, capturing their fortresses, and repelling another Norman invasion on the very spot where the Great William had landed, unconsciously reversed Norman ascendancy and ruled England as an English King. Of all the bad sovereigns whose reigns have proved for the good of the English people, William Rufus was perhaps the worst in point of personal character. He was oppressive, extortionate, and vicious to the last degree. His reign was called the reign of *unlaw and ungod*, because, in his time, injustice and exactions were beyond all parallel in an unrighteous feudal age. Money was squandered

upon mercenary troops, who harried the land they were hired to protect. Twenty thousand Englishmen who came together at the King's bidding to invade Normandy, each man with ten shillings contributed by men of his shire, were fleeced of their money by the King's agent, Randolph Flambard, and then ignominiously sent home, while the base King used his ill-gotten gains to bribe the baser King of France. William the Conqueror had some consideration for religion and morality, but the Red King defied God and man. Such blasphemy and shameless indecency the Court of England never saw, even in the reign of the Stuarts. Mr. Freeman says William Rufus represented the habits of the ancient Greek and of the modern Turk. The chroniclers of the time said that he every morning got up a worse man than he lay down, and every evening lay down a worse man than he got up.

And yet the Red King had some qualities which, if not exactly virtues, leaned toward virtue's side. Among his redeeming traits was a kind of pious veneration for the memory and great deeds of his father. Whatever territory the Conqueror had won in England or on the Continent, that his faithful son endeavored to keep at any cost. Rufus showed the quality of mercy to rebellious Norman barons, "for the love of his father, to whom they had been faithful followers." Battle Abbey, which the Great William had founded, was treated with generosity by his degenerate son, even though the latter cared nothing for religion, and unscrupulously plundered other monasteries to enrich those patronized by his father. Besides these qualities, Rufus had a certain species of knightly honor. Although he thought it no crime to break his chartered promises to the English people and to violate his pledges to the Holy Church (for, as he bluntly said, "No man can keep all his promises"), yet he never dreamed of breaking his word as a knight, and, what is no less remarkable, he had implicit confidence in the knightly word of others. Perhaps the most striking example of this honorable side of the Red King's nature is his treatment of Helias, a noble count of Eastern Maine, who fell into the hands of Robert the Devil, and was handed over to William Rufus, by whom he was treated with knightly courtesy and at last set free, Rufus having promised it in case Le Mans should be surrendered. Helias, departing, swore he would win back his lost city, and defied Rufus to his face. The latter, though blazing with anger, told Helias to do all he could. Such an example of generosity and good faith in a man who sometimes mutilated prisoners, and who trod his own people under foot, is worthy to be compared with the chivalry of the Black Prince, who spared French knights, but murdered the defenceless citizens of Limoges, or with the honor of that knightly king, Francis I., who boasted that he never broke his word of honor except to women. As Mr. Freeman remarks, "He who cannot rise to the higher rank of an honest man had better be a knight and gentleman than a mere knave and ruffian."

Decidedly the most interesting and important portions of the present work are those describing the relations of Church and State during the reign of William Rufus. It is an historical point, never before made clear, that the first appeal from an English court to papal authority was made not by Anselm, that "holy man," Archbishop of Canterbury, but by Anselm's enemy, William of Saint-Calais, Bishop of Durham, who had joined in the Norman revolt against William Rufus upon his accession to the throne, and who appealed to Rome against the jurisdiction and sentence of the King's Court. "It was from the mouth of William of Saint-Calais that, for the first time, as far as we can see, men who

were English by birth and settlement heard the doctrine that the King of the English had a superior on earth; that the decrees of the Witan of England could be rightly appealed from to a foreign power." Lanfranc, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, stoutly maintained the old doctrine of royal supremacy in temporal matters, as he had done in the days of William the Conqueror. The Red King asserted the Conqueror's ancient right in forcible terms: "By the face of Lucca, you shall never go out of my power till I have your castle." And the Bishop of Durham left England despoiled of his stronghold and all his domains. Arriving in Normandy, he was honorably received by Duke Robert, elder brother of the King, and invested with the charge of that entire duchy, where he appears to have forgotten his grievances, and whence he returned at a later period to England and to the King's favor, only to persecute Anselm in the Witan of the nation for maintaining the same right of appeal to Rome which he himself had once asserted.

The death of Lanfranc in 1089, one year after the suppression of the Norman rebellion, marks the outbreak of the Red King's gross iniquity toward the Church and his people. Up to that time, Rufus had been under some moral restraint, but, now that the chief adviser of his father was removed, the King followed the counsels of his own heart and evil counsellors of his own choosing. Robert of Bellême, commonly known as Robert the Devil, became his chief guide in war, and the crafty Randolph Flambard his chief adviser in affairs of state. This satanic clerk and *Justiciar*, this later Bishop of Durham, who delighted in leading his own monks as well as his King into temptation, had the doubtful honor of systematizing the evil customs of feudalism in England, and of suggesting to the King the economic policy of keeping abbeys and bishoprics vacant in order to appropriate their revenues for the royal coffers. The Archbishopric of Canterbury was thus kept vacant, after the death of Lanfranc, for four years, although in this instance the King was actuated by the additional motive of securing freedom from all ecclesiastical restraint. The Red King would have no yoke-fellow in the sovereign administration of England. Not until Rufus fell grievously ill at Gloucester, in 1193, did he consent to name Anselm to the primacy of England—an office more ancient and revered than that of the Crown itself.

But, with the recovery of health, the King recovered his old habits of blasphemy and extortion. "God shall never see me a good man," he said; "I have suffered too much at his hands." He set about undoing his good works as far as practicable. He could not, and would not, undo his personal investiture of Anselm with the staff of office, for that act the King regarded as a matter of honor. On the very day, however, of Anselm's enthronement, Randolph Flambard brought a suit against the Archbishop, and from that time onward the latter's course was continually beset, by order of the King, with snares and difficulties. Now extortionate demands for money were made from Anselm in order to aid the King in war; now the King denied Anselm's spiritual authority, and refused to allow him to hold a synod or to undertake a moral reformation of the kingdom; and persistently the tyrant declined to fill the vacant abbeys and churches. But the greatest grievance to Anselm was that the King would not allow him to recognize the Pope and go to Rome for the *pallium*. Even the Conqueror had allowed the latter privilege to Lanfranc.

Anselm, as Abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged Pope Urban II. in preference to Clement, but Anselm, as Archbishop of Canterbury, found

himself in a very embarrassing position; for, although personally pledged to Urban, he could not officially recognize him without the consent of the King of England, which consent Rufus steadfastly withheld, not because he favored Clement, but because he hated all papal authority and wished to have no representative of it in England. Anselm held that recognition of the Pope was not inconsistent with loyalty to his sovereign, and proposed to submit the question to the Witan of the nation. The wise men of the realm accordingly assembled, but the servile bishops, ignoring the main question as to whether the Archbishop did not owe a duty to the Church as well as to his King, treated Anselm as though he were upon trial for treason; and William of Saint-Calais, who, as Bishop of Durham, had himself once insisted upon the right of appeal to Rome, was now foremost in demanding that the ring and staff should be taken from Anselm, and that the latter be driven forth from the kingdom if he would not immediately recognize the superior authority of the King. But the lay nobles of the realm refused to consider such a proposition, likewise the equally shameful suggestion of the King that they withdraw all faith and friendship from the Archbishop. The King and his party were practically defeated when the Witan of Rockingham broke up.

"It was no mean day in English history when a king, a Norman king, the proudest and fiercest of Norman kings, was taught that there were limits to his will. It is like a foreshadowing of brighter days to come when the Primate of All England, backed by the barons and people of England—for on that day the very strangers and conquerors deserved that name—overcame the Red King and his time-serving bishops. The day of Rockingham has the fullest right to be marked with white in the calendar in which we enter the day of Runnymede and the day of Lewes."

Some Experiences of a Barrister's Life. By Mr. Serjeant Ballantine. Henry Holt & Co. 1882.

THESE reminiscences are of a very rambling and often disconnected character. They are jotted down, however, in such a way as to disarm criticism. When a lawyer of Mr. Ballantine's distinction sits down at the close of his career to recall the memories of the past, and prefaces his remarks with such a very modest disavowal of any necessary claim upon public attention as is contained in his preface, we feel bound either to listen to him politely or go away; to find fault with him for having nothing of profound importance to tell us, seems a waste of time.

The most valuable part of his book relates to professional matters. His account of the Courvoisier trial will be found of interest by that large body of casuists who are fond of discussing the question of a lawyer's duty when he believes his client to be guilty. Courvoisier, who murdered Lord William Russell, in 1840, was defended by Charles Phillips. During the trial it was discovered that a considerable quantity of plate which had disappeared from Lord William's house had been deposited by Courvoisier with some people in the neighborhood of Leicester Square. The prisoner, upon learning of the discovery, requested an interview with his counsel, and made a disclosure to him which, as was generally supposed at the time, involved a confession of guilt. Mr. Ballantine states, however, that the admission did not go to this extent, but merely amounted to a confession of facts which furnished "very stringent evidence" of guilt. Under these circumstances, what was Mr. Phillips to do? Undoubtedly, says the author, something very different from what he did do—which was to communicate to one of the judges engaged in trying the case (Mr. Baron Parke) the

confession of his client, and ask the Judge's advice.

"It is probable that if Baron Parke had not been taken by surprise, he would have declined to express any opinion. I happen, however, to know that, having learned that the prisoner did not intend to relieve his counsel from the defence, the learned Baron said that of course he must go on with it. And, if he gave any advice at all, this was the only advice he could give, and ought to have been patent to the inquirer; and certainly no censure can be too severe upon the conduct of Philipps, who, when assailed for his management of the case, violated the confidence that his interview with Baron Parke demanded, and endeavored to excuse himself by saying he had acted under the learned Judge's advice."

The author's remarks upon the delicate art of cross-examination contain nothing very new, but they come from him with authority. His first rule—that it is necessary for counsel to form in his own mind an opinion of the facts of the case, and the character and motives of a witness, before asking a question—elementary as it seems, is probably violated in nine out of every ten cross-examinations that take place. If a witness is suspected of an intention to commit perjury, he thinks that what ought to be done is to break him down, not on the main points of the case, with which he has probably made himself thoroughly acquainted, but on collateral circumstances, as to which he is likely to be imperfectly drilled. His own shrewdness in examining and in not examining witnesses is well shown in a little story he tells of an incident in a trial before Chief-Justice Erle. He had put a question to a witness as to what he was doing at a particular time, this being a matter important to the inquiry. He answered: "I was talking to a lady. I will tell you who she was, if you like; you know her very well." Serjeant Ballantine's method of dealing with this reply was to make no observation at the time, but to mention, when addressing the jury, that his experience led him to the conclusion that honest witnesses endeavored to keep themselves to the facts they came to prove, but that lying ones endeavored to distract the attention by something irrelevant. But the fact is, that, taking the story as it is told, the remark was not so much irrelevant as dangerous. If the lady's name had come out, she would have been a witness to prove the time, and if she had not been called by Serjeant Ballantine, the counsel on the other side would have argued to the jury that the omission was probably due to the unfavorable character of her testimony. In other words, the witness may very likely have been telling the truth, and yet, by the method pursued by the wily Serjeant, his alacrity was made to strike the jury as probable evidence of wilful falsehood.

Serjeant Ballantine's reminiscences of Thackeray are worth looking at in connection with the caricature of him in 'Endymion.' He says: "I never thought him an agreeable companion. He was very egotistical, greedy of flattery, and sensitive of criticism to a ridiculous extent. He may have possessed great powers of conversation, but did not exhibit them upon the occasions when I had an opportunity of judging." It should be said, however, that in his estimate of literary men the author is at his weakest. On the other hand, what he has to say about the members of his own profession is often amusing, and sometimes interesting. Of Lord Lyndhurst, he tells the story that when he became Chancellor, upon one occasion he stated the principles which he had adopted in determining the qualifications for a judgeship as follows: "I look out for a gentleman, and if he knows a little law, so much the better"; to which Serjeant Ballantine adds, with perhaps unconscious humor, "Sir William Bolland, who, I believe, was the only

one he made, certainly fulfilled the former condition."

The author's vast experience in criminal practice is of course drawn upon liberally. An amusing illustration of the different ways in which expert testimony in poisoning cases may be used is given in an account of a murder trial before Baron Parke. A minute quantity of arsenic was found in the body of the deceased, which the learned advocate accounted for by the usual suggestion that poison had been used carelessly for the destruction of rats. Baron Parke, in summing up, dwelt pointedly on the small amount of poison found, and the jury without hesitation found a verdict in the prisoner's favor.

"Doctor Taylor, the professor of chemistry, and an experienced witness, had proved the presence of arsenic; and, as I imagine, to the great disappointment of my solicitor, who desired a severe cross-examination, I did not ask him a single question. He was sitting on the bench, and near the Judge, who, after he had summed up, and before the verdict was pronounced, remarked to him that he was surprised at the small amount of arsenic found, upon which Taylor said that if he had been asked the question, he should have proved that it indicated, under the circumstances detailed in evidence, that a very large quantity had been taken."

Most of the book is merely gossip of a very light sort. Of Charles Austin, whose great abilities as a lawyer were strictly devoted to money-getting, he mentions the fact that he was in the habit of accepting retainers in cases which he well knew he could not attend to. "Doubtless they were delivered by solicitors who were aware of the risk they ran, and preferred taking it to the chance of his being retained against them. I cannot, however, think the practice was honorable, or one that could be justified on any grounds whatever." Webster, if we remember right, laid himself open to the same charge. Under the code of legal ethics adopted in many quarters, Mr. Austin's example would probably be considered deserving of emulation. Being retained on one side, and then going over to the other for a higher retainer, would probably still be regarded generally by conservative men as of doubtful propriety. Theodore Hook's wonderful improvisations, Mr. Ballantine declares, were not really altogether impromptu; for his friend Hill, of whom no one knew when he came into the world, and the records of whose birth had been "lost in the fire of London," was generally at hand, and he often "might be detected furnishing a cue." Of the Tichborne case, in which he was counsel for the "Claimant," what he has to say is interesting. He thinks that if at the beginning of the proceedings the fact had been brought out that the real Sir Roger had indelible tattoo marks upon one of his arms, the Claimant would necessarily have broken down altogether. The volume also contains a full account of another *cause célèbre* in which Serjeant Ballantine played an important part—the trial of the Gaekwar of Baroda. Serjeant Ballantine's experiences have been those of an expert criminal counsel, and the list of his friends and acquaintances upon which he draws for his reminiscences is a long one. His mind, however, is too little critical to make his descriptions of the men he has known of much value; indeed, like most writers of the class to which he belongs, his best gift is that of narrative. His stories of crime, and of the singular circumstances which so often arise in connection with the prosecution of criminals, are very good.

Homiletics. By James M. Hoppin, Professor in Yale College. Dodd, Mead & Co.

If the quality of preaching does not soon begin to show signs of improvement, it will not be be-

cause the literature of the subject has not of late been copious. Very recently we have had Professor Phelps's 'Theory of Preaching,' and his 'Men and Books,' a continuation of the former work; we have also had Mr. Mahaffy's 'Decay of Modern Preaching,' already reviewed in these columns; and now last, but certainly not least in its material bulk, we have Professor Hoppin's 'Homiletics.' It is not entirely new. Much of it has been before the public and in use as a textbook in theological schools for several years, bearing the title 'The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry.' But the present work is much expanded, and it is to be followed by another work on 'Pastoral Theology,' an expansion of those portions of the original work which are not included in the present publication. 'Homiletics' is an octavo volume of 800 pages, handsomely printed. Professor Hoppin apprehends his subject far too solemnly to admit any element of humor into his treatment. He fails to apprehend, too, or to state simply and forcibly the characteristic quality of the various preachers who have done most for the fame of their profession. More than 200 pages are devoted to a history of preaching, and it is evident that Professor Hoppin has not neglected any available source of information; but one feels that the book would have been much more readable if it had been much less learned. It is overburdened with its weight of erudition. It bristles all over with quotations from the Latin and the Greek, and with references to ancient authors.

After the "History of Preaching" comes, in division second, "The Object of Preaching," then, "Preparation for Composing Sermon," and next, "Analysis and Composition of Sermon." The last-named division is exceedingly formal, and suggests a wonder whether any sermons are constructed in our time on this mechanical principle, and if so, what they amount to. In regard to the text, we are told that it should not be from any apocryphal writing, nor, in any case, of doubtful authenticity. As to the proper length of a discourse, the rule of Bishop Alderson, "twenty minutes, with a leaning to the side of mercy," is quoted with approval, and Edward Irving's sermon for the London Missionary Society, which was three hours and a half long, is held up as a fearful warning. Treating of incongruous divisions, a case in point is found in Cox's 'Recollections of Oxford'—a "Long Vacation" Sermon on the Character of Abraham: (1) Abraham as a patriarch; (2) Abraham as the father of the faithful; (3) Abraham as a country gentleman.

The fifth division, on the "Classification of Sermons," is the most practical part of the book. It treats with considerable fulness of the different varieties of preaching—from the manuscript, memoriter, and extempore. The advantages and disadvantages of the different methods are discussed with manifest desire to do ample justice to each. The conclusion to which Professor Hoppin finally comes is much more favorable to extempore preaching than the conclusion of Professor Phelps in his 'Theory of Preaching.' He accepts Coquerel's definition of extempore speaking as that "in which the speaker knows what he has to say, but does not know how he is to say it." "You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring," says Quince to Snug in the play. Professor Hoppin is painfully aware that there is much extempore preaching which is nothing but roaring. To be truly excellent it requires as much preparation as the written or memoriter sermon. He advises that writing be not wholly given up, and that manuscript and memoriter preaching should be practised as well as extempore, but for the best effect he has no doubt that extempore preaching must be had. No doubt he

is correct, but unless our extempore preaching is going to be very different from what it habitually now is, we should pray for less of it instead of more.

The second part of Professor Hoppin's book is concerned with "Rhetoric Applied to Preaching." A first division treats of the general principles of rhetoric, a second, of invention, a third, of style. In this last there is a good deal of sound advice, especially under the head of "purity." The book is conceived in a very liberal spirit. The strictness of his own beliefs does not prevent the author from being fair toward men who differ from him widely. He speaks of "that giant, Theodore Parker," and gives unstinted praise to the ethical vigor of Channing and Walker and other liberal preachers.

Tarjuma-i-Alif Laila ba-zubân-i-Urdû. Romanized under the superintendence of T. W. H. Tolbort, B.C.S., and edited by Frederic Pincott, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1882.

INDIA, as a vast and compact aggregate of peoples, dominated by aliens, and holding constant intercourse with each other, naturally came to have its *lingua franca*, the language known as Urdû, or Hindustani. Originated, centuries ago, by the Muhammadan conquerors of the country, the Urdû has, by degrees, been expanded, methodized, and refined, until it has, at last, attained high comparative perfection. Though possessing a literature of no mentionable value, whatever its copiousness, it has the merit of being, for all ordinary purposes but the scientific, a most admirable medium of expression. As its very essence is composite, it is, however, quite probable that it may, in time, be brought to subserve every end of education among the teeming millions of Hindustan. But its potential utility is meanwhile seriously hampered by one circumstance: the character in which it is commonly written is the Arabic; and that character, besides requiring, for the complete preclusion of ambiguity, the incessant employment of diacritical points, is wholly unprovided, as to numerous foreign sounds, with expedients for symbolizing them. Success is, therefore, the just due of the effort, long since initiated, and still hopefully persevered in, to substitute, in Urdû books, the Roman character for the Arabic.

This laudable effort is exemplified in the comely volume of 480 pages, in charmingly legible type, which has been named above. The *Alif Laila* is the well-known 'Arabian Nights,' half of which, judiciously expurgated, is now offered to us, and in a form which leads us to wish for the remainder. The translation, which is made directly from the Arabic, exhibits the Urdû in its latest and highest development; and a very different thing is the Urdû of the present day from that of old-fashioned books like, for instance, the 'Bâgh-o-bahâr,' and the 'Kbirad-afroz.' Mr. Pincott, besides his critical editorship, has contributed a preface, in which he argues with great cogency for the Romanization of the Urdû. Already we have such a grammar of the language as leaves almost nothing to be desired; and we understand that its author, Mr. John T. Platts, will soon add to it an Urdû dictionary, in which we cannot but anticipate his usual scholarly workmanship. With command of the three helps here enumerated, students of the polite vernacular of India may be congratulated on enjoying advantages for acquiring it very far superior to those which were accessible to their forerunners.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Abel, C. Linguistic Essays. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$4.
- Aldis, Mary S. The Great Giant Arithmos. Macmillan & Co. 75 cents.
- Anecdota Oxoniensia: Texts, Documents, and Extracts, chiefly from Manuscripts in the Bodleian and other Oxford Libraries. Semitic Series, vol. I, part I. Mediæval and Modern Series, vol. I, part I. Classical Series, vol. I, part I. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Beard, G. M. The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.
- Benham, W. Catherine and Craufurd Tait. Wife and Son of Archbishop Campbell. Macmillan & Co. 90 cts.
- Bowen, C. W. The Boundary Disputes of Connecticut. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. \$5.
- Brockhaus's Conversations-Lexikon. 13th ed. Parts 19-23.
- Burdette, R. J. William Penn. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.
- Carlyle, T. Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849. Harper & Bros.
- Claborn, F. The Unfinished Tale. W. L. Allison & Son.
- Coe's First Studies in Drawing. John Wiley & Sons. 60 cents.
- Cones' Check-List of North-American Birds. Second ed., revised. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
- De Villegas, A. R. D. A Practical Method of Learning Spanish. W. S. Gottsberger.
- Dial, The. Vol. II, May, 1881, to April, 1882. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. \$2.
- Drake, S. A. The Heart of the White Mountains: their Legend and Scenery. Harper & Bros.
- Farrow, E. S. Mountain Scouting. Metropolitan Publishing Co.
- Fleischer, R. Vierteljahresberichte über die gesammten Wissenschaften und Künste, etc. Vol. I, part I. New York: L. W. Schmidt.
- Freeman, A. C. The American Decisions of Cases in the Courts of the Several States. Vol. xxxiv. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co.
- Geikie, A. Geological Sketches, at Home and Abroad. Macmillan & Co.

- Giles, H. Human Life in Shakespeare. Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.
- Gray, A. Z. Jesus Only, and Other Sacred Songs. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. \$1.
- Harte, Bret. Condensed Novels and Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.
- Healy, Mary. A Mere Caprice. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. \$1.25.
- Hill, T. The Stars and the Earth. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 60 cents.
- History of the Voyage and Shipwreck of the *Jeannette*. De Witt. 45 cents.
- Holland, J. G. Miss Gilbert's Career. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Holland, J. G. Nicholas Minturn: a Study in a Story. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Hyatt, A. Worms and Crustacea. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 35 cents.
- Ireland, A. Ralph Waldo Emerson. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.
- Ireland, J. N. Mrs. Duff. [American Actor Series.] Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.
- Irving, P. Life and Letters of Washington Irving. Vol. I. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.
- Johnson, Virginia W. An English "Daisy Miller." Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
- King, T. Off the Rocks: a Novel. Chicago: Henry A. Sumner & Co. \$1.60.
- Latimer, Elizabeth W. Anabal; or, Amor Omnia Vincit. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 20 cents.
- Lippincott's Magazine. New Series, Vol. III. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. \$2.
- Molesworth, Mrs. Summer Stories. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.
- Morris, R. Specimens of Early English. Part I. A.D. 1150-A.D. 1300. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Mozley, T. Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.
- Nordhoff, C. California, for Health, Pleasure, and Residence. Revised edition. Harper & Bros.
- Parkhurst, C. H. What Would the World Be Without Religion? A. D. F. Randolph. 20 cents.
- Pen Pictures of Modern Authors. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25.
- Pickering, W. H. Walking Guide to the Mt. Washington Range. Boston: A. Williams & Co.
- Pollard, A. W. Salust, Catiline, and Jugurtha. Macmillan & Co. \$2.
- Prairie Idyl, and Other Poems. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Co. \$1.
- Reiss, A., and Stübel, A. Necropolis of Ancon in Peru. Part 6. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$7.50.
- Roe, E. P. Barriers Burned Away. New ed. Dodd, Mead & Co. 20 cents.
- Sanborn, F. R. Henry D. Thoreau. [American Men of Letters Series.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
- Sidgwick, A. Æschylus's Agamemnon. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Simpson, M. C. M. Geraldine and Her Suitors. Harper's Franklin Square Library. 15 cents.
- Skeat, W. W. An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, arranged on an Historical Basis. Part IV., completing the work. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Skeat, W. W. A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smith, Prof. W. H. The Prophets of Israel. D. Appleton & Co.
- Stanley, Dean. Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey. Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Steele, T. S. Paddle and Portage from Moosehead Lake to the Aroostook River. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.
- Stephen, L. The Science of Ethics. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.
- Stewart, S. J. The Gospel of Law: a Series of Discourses upon Fundamental Church Doctrines. Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. \$1.25.
- Stoddard, R. H. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: a Medley in Prose and Verse. G. W. Barlow & Co. \$1.50.
- Sweet, H. Anglo-Saxon Primer. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
- Taylor, D. T. The Reign of Christ on Earth. Boston: Scriptural Tract Repository. \$1.25.
- Vanderbeck, C. C. Hints for the Summer Months. Philadelphia: Baxter Publishing Co. 50 cents.
- Woolson, Constance Fenimore. Anne: a Novel. Harper & Bros.
- Ward, A. W. Dickens. Harper & Bros.
- Yesterday: an American Novel. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.

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